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IF LINCOLN WERE ASKED

HIS ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS BY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

In this article the attitude of Lincoln towards national values has been revived. Its special significance is in the fact that Senators and Congressmen who, in 1920, are struggling with what we regard as modern problems, have asked the everlasting mental presence of Lincoln to advise them now.

Lincoln's answers speak for themselves. They are so soundly applicable to the modern difficulties of Congress, that the revelation impresses one with the great fact that the principles of the Republican Party have not changed.

SUPPOSE, through the swinging doors of the Senate Chamber, a man six-foot four, lean, loose-jointed, stooping, entered, and seated himself on one of the divans that line the walls of that historic room. Suppose that man were the invisible Lincoln. Though inarticulate, he might speak, because understanding is not so much a matter of words, after all. He would, of course, remember the anxiety of his own legislative battles, and he would apply them. What he heard would seem like a resurrection of his own difficulties, only enlarged by the fruition of intervening years, grown thin by virtue of selfish interpretation. Scanning the countenances of these men of 1920, he might read the old story of vain scorn, of private ambition, or arrogant power, that he had encountered in the con-

flicts of some men who served in 1860, with here and there a fellow-being, inspired.

Lincoln's presence always looms up when a Presidential nomination is near. He seems to impress his superb identity whenever a nation is in some crisis of its character. So, it would soon spread in Congress, that he was there.

The picture is not so fantastic, nor is it so much an exaggeration of fact, for Lincoln's executive principles are those of the Republican majority. They will always live. Only the other day, the man who fired the first shot at Fort Sumter, died. He was eighty years old. Lincoln is very close to us. It is possible to restore the spiritual impulses of his career to the policies of Congress today, by applying them to his own utterances, made in the face of constitutional rebellion, under the stress of a Government divided against itself, which is an anxiety of 1920.

Even the marvelous face of the man, scarred and seamed by the storms he encountered in his adventurous journey, still lives, as if the man himself were here, an undying presence. Mention Lincoln, and you see him, you are held by the deep sadness of his sunken eyes that seemed to be veiled always in spiritual perplexity. Mention his name, and he stands before all men, vivid, inspiring, dominant with his awkward humility of manner, even in 1920, though his body vanished over half a century ago.

This is a moment in national history that Lincoln would have understood with that fine compassion that it perhaps needs, with a vision of the inner souls of men who have strayed from patriotic worship to foreign creeds.

There is an analogy in the two epochs. Lincoln's period was one of Civil War in America, ours is a period of industrial rebellion, a mistrust of government, a challenge of the courts. Both are tainted with blood-red hatred and revolutionary rage. The issues are in a measure similar, for they present the problem of property rights. Then, too, both epochs quiver with a human passion for greed and power. No matter how far these things may seem to be from us now, because we are extravagantly

prosperous, they are no secret facts to those who think and feel them.

His intentions then were clear statesmanship, so that in restoring his attitude of thought and feeling to the present embarrassment of 1920, *THE FORUM* sought the interest of members of Congress. Members of both houses were asked to select questions bearing upon national issues which might be submitted to Lincoln, were he alive.

In the volume of material, many questions were sent in, unsigned, questions that were evidently deep in the mind of Congressional turmoil.

In searching Lincoln's mind, amid the mass of printed records of his actual words, written or spoken, the result is inspiring thought. It is obvious upon examination of these records that Lincoln, if he were alive today, would have understood the problems of the hour, because, in his clear American perception of our national course, he faced the unrest of war, of entangled patriotism, with unflinching certainty of administrative wisdom.

WHAT LINCOLN WAS ASKED

IN THE questions sent to *THE FORUM* from Congress, one can trace the issues that are uppermost there. Queries were made as to what Lincoln would have felt towards anarchy; what he would have done with the radical alien; what his views would be on the problem of foreign immigration; his ideals of American citizenship, and its restrictions; how he would have met the present industrial problems; what he would have advised in the League of Nations document; what would have been his views in our relations with Japan; would he have favored the punishment of the Kaiser; what views he had about the present Administration; what of non-partisan political organizations; and, of course, other political issues that have a bearing upon the immediate future.

The answers have followed as closely as possible, the questions. Their adaptation to the present problems, though Lincoln's own words were uttered or written over half a century ago, are startlingly applicable. In all of

them there is the prevailing note of wisdom, of compassion, a broad understanding of America's destiny, and her national power.

Congressman Burton L. French, of Idaho, in a letter which says, "It would be especially helpful in the shaping of public opinion to have the attitude of Lincoln revived," asks seven questions of Lincoln. In the course of this article they are all answered. Perhaps the most interesting of them is the following:

What is your conception of the way anarchy should be met in this country?

" Thus, then, by the operation of this mobocratic spirit which all must admit is now abroad in the land, the strongest bulwark of any Government, and particularly of those constituted like ours, may effectually be broken down and destroyed—I mean the attachment of the people. Wherever this effect shall be produced among us; whenever the vicious portion of population shall be permitted to gather in bands of hundreds of thousands, throw printing presses into the river, and hang and burn obnoxious people at pleasure and with impunity, depend on it, this agreement cannot last. The growing disposition to substitute the wild and furious passions in lieu of the sober judgment of the Courts, and to arouse the savage mob against the executive ministers of justice, have pervaded the country from New England to Louisiana.

"As a nation of freemen, we must live through all times, or die of suicide." (From Address made in 1837.)

This fire of Lincoln's oratory, when he was young, was no less brilliant in its attack against lawlessness or violations of the Constitution in 1837, than it would be today. It is the American answer to all rebellion, violence, radicalism and sedition of 1920.

Ex-Speaker Joe Cannon, not only from Lincoln's state, Illinois, but the man in Congress above all others who has arrived at that summit of national life where all can see him, and all know him, regards Lincoln as the great-

est "example in the human race of magnificent leadership and patriotism."

THE PRESIDENT'S CHIEF DUTY

MR. CANNON has expressed his views upon Executive responsibility, with the conclusion that no man in history faced the trials of the White House so strictly within the letter of the law, as Lincoln. Mr. Cannon finds Lincoln's answer to the following question:

What is the President's chief duty to the Nation?

"A majority held in the strength by Constitutional checks and limitations, and all this changing easily with deliberate changes of Public opinion and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible. The rule of a minority as a permanent arrangement is wholly inadmissible; so that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left." (From Lincoln's first Inaugural address.)

The Speaker of the House, Hon. F. H. Gillett, asked:

What would Lincoln say to the organized effort of Bolshevism to change our form of Government? Not by peaceful methods provided in the Constitution, but by violence and force?

"The forbearance of this government had been so extraordinary and so long continued as to lead some foreign nations to shape their action as if they supposed the early destruction of our national union was possible . . . happy to say that the sovereignty and rights of the United States are now everywhere practically respected by foreign powers." (Lincoln's message to Congress, 1861.)

"The man who stands by and says nothing when the peril of his government is discovered, cannot be misunderstood. If not hindered he is sure to help the enemy—much more if he talks ambiguously—talks, with 'buts' and 'ifs' and 'ands.'

"Injuries unforeseen by the Government and unintended, may in some cases have been inflicted on the subjects or citizens of foreign countries, both at sea and on land, by persons in the service of the United States we must be prepared to do justice to foreigners." (Statement from the White House, 1863.)

"In the midst of other cases, however important, we must not lose sight of the fact that the war power is still our main reliance. To that power alone can we look, yet for a time, to give confidence to the people.Until that confidence shall be established little can be done anywhere for what is called Reconstruction." (From Address, March 4, 1865.)

PRINCIPLES OF FREE GOVERNMENT

SENATOR Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, has asked this question:

What are the principles upon which free and ordered popular government should rest?

This question is answered in many periods of Lincoln's public career, essentially in his Gettysburg Address in 1863. There are other utterances in which Lincoln's words answer this political evergreen of all campaigns. It was alive in 1837, when Lincoln was a young man making his first public addresses. To a group of young men of his own age, about 27 years old, in Springfield, Illinois, he answered this question as follows:

"We find ourselves under the government of a system of political institutions conducting more essentially to the ends of a civil and religious liberty than any of which history of former times tells us. . . . Theirs was the task (and nobly they performed it) to possess themselves, and through themselves us, of this goodly land, and to uprear upon its hills and its valleys a political edifice of liberty and equal rights; 'tis ours only to transmit these—the former unprofaned by the foot of an invader, the latter undecayed by the lapse of time and untorn by usurpation—to the latest generation that fate shall permit the world to know.

At what point, then, is the approach to danger to be expected? I answer: If it ever reach us, it must spring up among us; it cannot come from abroad. If destruction be our lot, we must, ourselves, be its author and finisher. As a nation of freemen we must live through all time, or die by suicide."

Another vital part of this question, the independence of the judiciary, is answered, when Lincoln was brought face to face with the historical Dred Scott case, as follows:

"We believe as much as Judge Douglas (perhaps more) in obedience to, and respect for the judicial department of the Government. We think its decisions on constitutional questions, when fully settled, should control not only the particular cases decided, but the general policy of the country, subject to be disturbed only by amendments of the Constitution as provided in that instrument itself. More than this would be revolution." (From Speech, June 26, 1857.)

"I believe there is a genuine popular sovereignty. I think a definition of genuine popular sovereignty, in the abstract, would be about this: That each man shall do precisely as he pleases with himself, and with all those things which exclusively concern him. Applied to government, this principle would be, that a general government shall do all those things which pertain to it, and all the local governments shall do precisely as they please in respect to those matters which exclusively concern them. I understand that this Government of the United States under which we live is based upon this principle; and I am misunderstood if it is supposed that I have any war to make upon that principle." (From Speech Sept. 16, 1859.)

LABOR UNIONS AND MILITARISM

SENATOR Sherman, of Illinois, Lincoln's State, asked the following question:

Would you have been in favor of labor unions?

"To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor, or as nearly as possible, is a worthy object of

any good Government. But how can a government effect this? The abandonment of the protective policy of the American Government must result in the increase of both useless labor and idleness." (In Tariff discussion, Dec. 1, 1847.)

"Thank God that we have a system of labor where there can be a strike." (Address, March 5, 1860.)

Congressman Edward Voigt, of Wisconsin, asks the following question:

Would you be in favor of a large permanent military institution in this country?

"In the midst of other cases, however important, we must not lose sight of the fact that the war power is still our main reliance. To that power alone can we look, yet for a time, for it would give confidence to the people until that confidence shall be established, little can be done anywhere for what is called Reconstruction." (Message to Congress, Dec. 8, 1863.)

"I think the man whom for the time being the people have, under the Constitution, made the Commander-in-chief of their army and navy, is the man who holds the power and bears the responsibility of making it. If he uses the power justly, the people will probably justify him. I must hereafter, as heretofore, do so much as the public safety may seem to require." (Letter to Burchard, June 29, 1863.)

JUSTICE TO THE RETURNED SOLDIER

CONGRESSMAN William E. Mason, of Illinois, in questioning Lincoln concerning the obligations of the country to the returning soldier, states, "I remember how he treated the private soldiers in the Civil War." In his letter to THE FORUM, the Congressman assumes what Lincoln's attitude would have been, and therefore, in view of the fact that the Congressman remembers Lincoln's attitude towards those soldiers of the Civil War, he may be fairly permitted to express his personal views. The answer to the direct question will follow.

In his letter this Congressman says

"I think he would say, 'Don't delay justice to them, as you have delayed it to the soldiers of the Civil War. First of all, you should treat the National Guard and all other soldiers as well as you do the regular army. When retired for disability, there should be no favoritism. You should give them a bonus, and give it now. You gave the clerks in the Department a bonus to take care of the high cost of living and thousands of the boys are now being thrown back without a decent suit of clothes, and without any preparation to meet this high cost of living. A sandwich and a cup of coffee today is better for his stomach than to promise him a farm and a banquet in a few years.'"

Mr. Mason would have asked Lincoln this question:

What would you do for the returned victorious soldiers of this country?

"I cordially concur in the recommendation of the Secretary of the Interior, suggesting a modification of the act in favor of those engaged in the military and naval service of the United States. I doubt not that Congress will cheerfully adopt such measures as will, without essentially changing the general features of the system, secure, to the greatest practicable extent, its benefits to those who have left their homes in defense of their country in this arduous crisis." (From annual message to Congress, Dec. 8, 1863, regarding grant of public lands.)

There is, in this declaration of Lincoln's, something that has not been said so well, or so practically since. There is a patriotic impulse in it that the whole country today shares.

Congressman Albert Johnson, of Washington, asks the same question.

"The recommendations of the Secretary for an organization of the militia upon a uniform basis is a subject of vital importance to the future safety of the country, and is commended to the serious attention of Congress." (Message to Congress, Dec. 3, 1861.)

Plans for a permanent and large militia have been recommended by the Secretary of War in 1920,—just as Lincoln recommended them in 1863.

INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS OF TODAY

CONGRESSMAN John J. Esch, of Wisconsin, asks:
What would you do with the industrial problems of today, having more particular reference to the solution of the labor question as it involves the railroads and other public utilities?

"To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor, or as nearly as possible, is a worthy object of any good government. But how can a Government effect it? The only remedy for this is to, as far as possible, drive useless labor and idleness out of existence. Iron and everything made of iron can be produced in sufficient abundance, and with as little labor, in the United States as anywhere else in the world, therefore all labor done in bringing iron and its fabrics from a foreign country to the United States, is useless labor. The abandonment of the protective policy of the American government must result in the increase of both useless labor and idleness." (From Address in Congress, Dec. 1, 1847.)

While this does not fully answer the question, because it does not embody the international changes that have occurred since, it stands up fairly well as a plea for American independence, for the protective policy of the American government.

Congressman John W. Summers, of Washington, asks:

What would you do with the industrial problems of today?

"These reflections show that to reason and act correctly on this subject, we must look not merely to buying something cheap, nor yet to buying cheap and selling dear, but also to having constant employment, so that we may have the largest possible amount of something to sell." (From address in Congress, Dec. 1, 1847.)

The same advice has been given by others, as if it were a new solution, and yet who else but Lincoln could have clarified so concisely the complex issues that we are now examining, the issues of under-production, or profiteering. In a few words, the great American uncovers the source of our industrial disease, as if it were not new, even in 1863.

IF LINCOLN WERE A CANDIDATE NOW

SENATOR Harding, of Ohio, has asked:

S If you were a Presidential candidate today?

"The field of glory is harvested, and the crop is already appropriated. But new reapers will arrive, and they, too, will seek a field. It is today, if what history of the world tells us is true, necessary to suppose that men of ambition and talents will continue to spring up around us, and when they do, they will naturally seek the gratification of their ruling passions as others have done before them. Many great and good men, sufficiently qualified for any task they should undertake, may ever be found whose ambitions would aspire to nothing beyond a seat in Congress, a Gubernatorial or Presidential chair; but such belong not to the family of the lion, or the tribe of the eagle. What! think you those places would satisfy an Alexander, a Caesar, or a Napoleon? Never! Towering genius disdains a beaten path. It seeks regions hitherto unexplored. Is it unreasonable, then, to expect that some man of the loftiest genius, coupled with ambition sufficient to push it to its utmost stretch, will at some time spring up among us? And when such a one does, it will require the people to be united with each other, attached to the Government and laws and generally intelligent, to successfully frustrate his designs. Distinction will be his paramount object, and although he would as willingly, perhaps more so, acquire it by doing good as harm, yet, opportunity being past, and nothing left to be done in the way of building up, he would set boldly to the task of pulling down." (From political speech in 1837.)

Congressman Riddick, of Montana, has asked a question that should reveal Lincoln's political conscience. Lincoln's answer to this question is steeped in the intense partisanship, which he maintained all his life for his party. It reflects a clear impression that Lincoln would have had no patience with any non-partisan organization, because he never favored political back doors. The Congressman's question is as follows:

What would you say and do if large numbers of farmers felt it was necessary to withdraw from the two old political parties and organize a non-partisan organization to correct governmental injustices and secure their rights?

"The Democrats are vulnerable in the heel, but they are sound in the head and heart,—is using a figurative expression. The first part of the figure, I admit, is not merely figurative, but literally true It seems that this malady of their heels operates on these sound-headed and honest-hearted creatures very much like the cork leg in the comic song did, which, when the man once started on it, the more he tried to stop it, the more it would run away.

"Many countries have lost their liberty, and ours may lose hers; but if she shall, be it my proudest plume, not that I was the last to desert, but that I never deserted her.

"The Democratic party in 1844 elected a Southern President. Since then they have neither had a Southern candidate for election or nomination. Their conventions of 1848, 1852, 1856, have been struggles exclusively among Northern men, each vying to outbid the other for the Southern vote; the South, standing calmly by to finally cry, 'Going, going, going, gone!' to the highest bidder, and at the same time to make its power more distinctly seen, and thereby secure a still higher bid at the next succeeding election." (From Address in Congress, 1856.)

As a political text, this outburst of Lincoln's at a period in his life when he was absorbing his political

education, conveys the brilliancy of his mind, and in a measure reflects certain political bitterness, which he afterwards deplored, for later, when responding to a speech in Springfield, Illinois, on November 20, 1860, in honor of his election, he said:

"In all our rejoicings let us neither express nor cherish any hard feelings toward any citizen who by his vote has differed from us. Let us, at all times, remember that all American citizens are brothers of a common country, and should weld together in the bonds of fraternal feeling Our Government rests on public opinion. Whoever can change public opinion can change the government just so much."

THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM

SENATOR New, of Indiana, asks this question:
What would be your views today on foreign immigration?

"The act passed at the last session for the encouragement of immigration has, so far as possible, been put in operation. A liberal disposition toward this great national policy is manifest by most of the European states, and ought to be reciprocated on our part by giving the immigrant effective national protection. I regard our immigrants as one of the principal replenishing streams which are appointed by Providence to repair the ravages of internal war, and its wastes of national strength and health. All that is necessary is to secure the flow of that stream in its present fullness." (Message to Congress, Dec. 6, 1864.)

Obviously, this view applied to the time when foreign immigration was the hope of America. Possibly, it is so no more, but Lincoln did not mean to encourage the presence of the alien who disagreed with the American government. Speaking in his annual message to Congress in 1861, he said:

"In regard to Germans and foreigners I esteem them no better than other people, nor any worse. It is not my nature, when I see people borne down

by the weight of their shackles—the oppression of tyranny—to make their life more bitter by heaping upon them greater burden.”

Lincoln further amplifies this policy, which is one that might easily benefit some parts of Europe, today, when he said in this same message of 1861:

“Inasmuch as our country is exclusive . . . and the countries of Europe are densely populated, if there are any abroad who desire to make this the land of their adoption, it is not in my heart to throw aught in their way to prevent them from coming to the United States.”

Lincoln’s attitude toward European affairs, was, however, never blind to the ultimate entanglement that might arise. For instance a member of Congress sending the following question, is answered by Lincoln:

What is your attitude towards Japan?

“Owing to the peculiar situation of Japan and the anomalous form of its government, the action of that Empire in performing treaty stipulations, is inconstant and capricious.” (From Message to Congress, 1864.)

The surprising feature in the reaction of Lincoln’s thought to questions submitted by members of Congress, many of them born since Lincoln died, is the value of his national advice to the problems of 1920. Although space has not allowed a full measure of Lincoln’s wisdom in its bearing upon these great issues of the present, enough has been found to stimulate the political philosophy of today with Lincoln’s mind.

Among those questions which were addressed by members of Congress, who failed to sign them, we select only the following, because they touch upon specifically modern issues. For instance, the following question has been significantly answered by Lincoln, although it is essentially a question of 1920.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE question is:

Would you have been in favor of the League of Nations?

" That sentiment is that no domestic contention whatever that may arise among the parties of this Republic, ought in any sense be referred to any foreign arbitrament, least of all to the arbitrament of a European monarchy. The forbearance of this Government has been so long continued as to lead some foreign nations to shape their action as if they supposed the early destruction of our national union was probable. I am happy to say that this sovereignty and right of the United States are now everywhere practically respected by foreign powers " (From Message to Congress, 1861.)

Senator Poindexter of Washington, in his letter to THE FORUM, writes:

"One of the things that has been a subject of sharp political differences of recent years is the method of party control." Formulated into a question, Lincoln's answer is intensely partisan. Senator Poindexter asks:

Would you oppose party corruption?

"I know that the great volcano at Washington aroused and directed by the evil spirit that reigns there, is belching forth the lava of political corruption in a current broad and deep bidding fair to leave unscathed no green spot or living thing." (From Address made in 1839.)

Senator Bert M. Fernald asks this question:

What is the President's chief duty?

" . . . in all our rejoicing, let us neither express nor cherish any hard feeling towards any citizen who by his votes has differed from us. Let us at all times remember that all American citizens are brothers of a common country, and should dwell together in the bonds of fraternal feeling." (From Address, Nov. 20, 1860.)

"I appeal to you to constantly bear in mind that not with politicians, not with Presidents, not with office-seekers, but with you is the question. Shall the union and shall the liberties of this country be preserved to the latest generation? (Address, February 11, 1861.)

"Our Government rests on public opinion. Whoever can change public opinion can change the Government just so much.

"The people themselves and not their servants, can safely reverse their own deliberate decisions.

"I think the man whom, for the time being, the people have, under the Constitution, made the Commander-in-Chief of their Army and Navy, is the man who holds the power and the responsibility of making it. If he uses the power justly, the same people will probably justify him. I must hereafter, as heretofore, do so much as the public safety may seem to require."

KIPLING

By FAITH BALDWIN

He has loved Britain well, and Mankind more;
White men and brown, his love for them is great
With comprehension: big with dreams: elate
With shouted pride. On Sussex Downs; by hoar
New England fields: in Jungles; past the Gate
Which gives on Eastern magic; through hate
And love which sing above the battle-roar
He leads us to the heart of Man and Fate.

Yes. He has loved: has glorified the best,
And wept the worst, of men: has proved love, clear,
In song, in tale, in deed. Is he not one
Of many mortal men who braved the Test,
And gave for God, for Mankind, and for dear,
Unsmiling Freedom, his beloved son?

DO THE DEAD COME BACK?

A PSYCHOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF HUMAN GULLIBILITY

By JOSEPH JASTROW, A.M., PH.D.

(Professor of Psychology at the University of Wisconsin)

“War entails a violent disturbance of habits of thinking no less than of ways of living. The profound unsettlement is even more drastic in its effects on emotion and reason than on action and will. It distorts the trend and temper of belief. It brings forward irregular beliefs that thrive on the abandoned habitations as well as the frontiers of the intellectual domain. Warfare entails a reversion to primitive elemental reactions and passions, such as are sternly restrained in the regulated contacts of peace. By a like process, the state of war—which is so essentially a state of mind—favors a revival of earlier, simpler, logical habits and mental attitudes, for the most part outgrown in the disciplined relations of an adjusted and educated society. The belief in the reality of ghosts and in the communication of departed spirits is among the oldest and most universal of such convictions.”

THERE are two problems involved in the revival in these science-saturated days of a belief in spirit-agency as a tenable, possibly an inevitable hypothesis to account for the accredited observations of creditable reporters. The first considers the grounds for the strong inclination toward the belief and the entire psychological setting that makes converts to it. The second examines and appraises the evidence. The first inquiry is mainly psychological, the second mainly logical; but the

two overlap and interact. They do so particularly because a good share of the evidence requires some sort of a psychological explanation. In the revival of a belief in spirits and in the general credibility of the alleged phenomena in which it finds a place, we are dealing both with an inclination to believe, and with the meaning and value of the array of evidence which is advanced in support of the belief; an evidence that to some minds compels recourse—it may be willingly, it may be reluctantly—to the spiritualistic hypothesis.

Such compulsion derives its driving force largely from the mental disposition. It appears in all beliefs that have a strong emotional tone and, by that token, a personal appeal. Man is an imperfectly logical animal. The satisfactions which he seeks and obtains in his beliefs depend upon his total nature, in which the emotional and the aesthetic parts are commonly the stronger. He craves pleasant and beautiful thoughts. The most direct function of belief is to control conduct; in practical affairs men must believe the truth or come to grief. But even in these there is large latitude, and the affairs of life have been regulated acceptably and happily by all manners of “systems” which proved to be vain or absurd to a later generation: witness the many medical systems and cures that have run their course and contributed to the debris of thought. Yet these reappear today in newer setting and give rise to modern cults, claiming as the corner-stone of the temple the stone which the scientific builders rejected. The belief in spirits does not stand alone in its successive resurrections or reincarnations. Thought-waves, Oriental mysticism, theosophy, faith-cures, “demonstrations” by verbal fiats of denial of ills, palmistry, astrology and phrenology, all may flourish on a hospitable modern soil; all present phases of appeal to believing minds; all display formidable masses of evidence to establish claims of logical respectability.

CRUDELY CREDULOUS MINDS

IN many of life's relations the connection between theory and practise, between what we believe and what we

do, is so remote and elastic as to tolerate gaps and discrepancies without inconvenience to the believer, without "showing" conspicuously to those who are privileged to see the mental apparel. The directly practical kinds of belief are protected from extravagant speculation. If grossly false or bizarre, they would soon lead to disaster if projected too violently against hard reality. Even those who claim that thinking health or bank accounts is tantamount to having them, do not expect such accounts to be honored by a hard-headed world. Apart from these there is endless room for speculative investments which yield their dividends in the satisfaction which they bring. Beliefs are cherished for insight and for consolation, and for mixed motives of both varieties.

As to the belief in the communication of the departed—today as of old, through the ministrations of specially endowed mediums or adepts—among the varieties of believers there will be many who are moved largely by inclination and require slight evidence to embrace what they cherish. Such minds do not demand, perhaps would not understand, rigid logical standards. It is only when they fall far below the acceptable level that such minds are called crudely credulous, or gullible. The greater interest lies in minds with fair or decidedly more than fair standards of belief, who in most of their intellectual investments display reasonable caution, and even marked proficiency in handling situations and arguments requiring high-grade rational powers. Through such sponsors the belief in spirits acquires a prestige reflecting the reputation of those who hold them. It is conspicuously true that the quotations of belief in "spirits" are maintained in the public esteem by the total mass of such personal endorsements; among our acquaintances and among reputable and even distinguished men we are faced with the ungracious task of inquiring into the qualification of the more influential sponsors.

We may make the task less invidious and more profitable by reviewing the varieties of evidence. Let it be noted

that there is little in the types of evidence, for modern spirits agency, dating from the American revival of 1848, or in any of its still more recent revivals, that may not be found in similar beliefs of older days. The new features consist in the attempt to apply to the evidence more rigid scientific standards growing out of the laboratory, together with a few innovations somewhat technical. There are the physical phenomena apparently defying the accredited laws of the behavior of matter; and there are the psychological (often called the psychic) phenomena, of which the type is the command of knowledge or powers not recognized by accredited psychology.

DUPES OF EUSAPIA PALADINO

THE most recent and widely sponsored exemplar of the physical evidence is recorded in the famous "case" of Eusapia Paladino. This illiterate Italian woman convinced Professor Lombroso, in 1892, of her supernormal powers; through this agency Professor Richet, of Paris, was convinced; then a group of English observers, notably Sir Oliver Lodge and Mr. F. W. H. Myers; then more and more sponsors of eminence in all lands, including our own. Mr. Carrington, an American, has devoted a volume to an account and an endorsement of her career. Yet, through her twenty years of mediumship, critical observers testified to nothing unusual and much suspicious in her manifestations, and repeatedly she was detected in gross fraud. The fact remains that she was "investigated" by elaborate, scientifically devised tests, by men of competent scientific judgment, and pronounced "genuine." Mr. Carrington, who has detected fraud in a considerable number of mediums, sums up her case thus: "Eusapia is genuine; but she is, so far as I know, almost *unique*. * * * In her may now be said to culminate and focus the whole evidential case for the physical phenomena of spiritualism." If Eusapia is a fraud, then the whole case is "utterly, irretrievably ruined." In 1910 two observers were smuggled under the table which Paladino "levitated" without contact—which levitation formed the crux of her performance. With their

eyes within a few inches of her educated foot, they saw this member insert itself under the leg of the table and levitate. Nothing in Eusapia's repertoire was more recondite than this or had more to do with the basis of her marvelous reputation. To an observer free from any prejudice and conversant with the possibilities of fraud, her performance was, if not transparent, at least suspicious and dull.

The question is insistent: Why did so many competent observers accept these trivial performances as evidence of a spirit agency? Either the distinguished witnesses were by training and temperament unfit to sit in judgment on performances of this type, or they were so prejudiced in favor of the "spirit" hypothesis that they were completely disqualified for the task. In some instances the one judgment is correct, in others the other; and both with charitable allowances. There is no presumption that all men trained in science, whether physicists, biologists or psychologists, will by virtue of such training be competent to detect how the trick is done; while the gap between such failure and the assumption of spirit agency is a discrepancy of titanic proportions—quite on a par with that of the witness who found the hostler and the harness in the stable and the horse gone, and concluded that the hostler had eaten the horse. Both assumptions account for the "facts," but at what cost of logical consistency with the rest of the phenomena and hypotheses which the daily round of rational thought and action presents and requires!

The central type of the "psychical" phenomena is the disclosure by the medium of information of the personal affairs of the sitter, including details apparently as far removed from the reach of *her* (the female of the species is more deadly) mental apprehension, as is the table or tamborine beyond the reach of the prehensile foot or hand. Both cases bring their challenge by way of a negative,—always a difficult, at times an unfair process of argument. The skeptical critic is assured solemnly and reiteratedly that the medium could *not possibly* have done this or known that; that fraud was out of the question; that tests were

rigid; that witnesses were honest; and consequently "it" must have been spirits, or telepathy, or something occult and mysterious,—in brief, "psychic" power of a rare sort, not exercised by ordinary mortals, and dogmatically denied by prejudiced men of science, who have never had "experiences" of their own.

THE FAMOUS PSYCHIC MRS. PIPER

THE most famous of the "psychic" cases is Mrs. Piper, who seems to be the accredited medium of "psychic researchers" who have departed this life. Mrs. Piper is evidently an attractive and intelligent woman who has done much to relieve the tedium of the tawdry professional seance. The ordinary psychic sport of visiting mediums carries much the same flavor as visiting slums; Mrs. Piper lifts the profession to the agreeable level of respectful and alertly intellectual accomplishment.

In his sitting with Mrs. Piper, Dr. Hall invented a fictitious niece, whose spirit none the less came and revealed intimate details quite as "evidential" as most of Mrs. Piper's revelations. There is a strange incident in the career of Mrs. Piper; for at one time she confessed to the natural means by which her mediumship was conducted, though she promptly withdrew the confession. It is plain that the "higher phases" of mediumship are not free from the dubious ways of the more common varieties. Nor are mercenary motives the only ones to be considered. The love of mystifying, the satisfactions of notoriety, the invitations which a neurotic constitution invites, as well as what Huxley referred to as the downright lying of persons whose word it is impossible to doubt, must all be taken into account.

Bernard Shaw is more direct: "It is useless to mince matters in dealing with ghost stories—the existence of a liar is more probable than the existence of a ghost."

It is inherent in the "psychical" performance (except in the simpler varieties in which detection requires ingenuity but nothing more) that the medium cannot be investigated,

at least not conclusively, without the medium's co-operation. Like a patient, the medium must aid if not supply the diagnosis. The psychologist is not a mind-reader, no more and not otherwise than is the medium; or he would not be occupying a sadly underpaid professorship. Dr. Stanley Hall pertinently writes of and to Mrs. Piper: "Would that she would give the world her own utterly candid *biographie intime* or a confession of her honest womanly reactions to all this business! For one, I must believe that she could, if she would, shed more true light upon her case than has been done by all who have so far studied her." The Fox sisters confessed as mature women how they had started and startled the spiritualistic movement (1848) as mischievous or hysterical children dislocating their joints and thus "rapping" out messages from the beyond. Dr. Hall proposes for Mrs. Piper a similar consummation of her career. Briefly, then, the evidential case for spirit messages turns upon the improbability that the mediums in their own personalities could have had access to intimate and personal details which they reveal in behalf of departed relatives to their inquiring survivors.

AN AMAZING AMERICAN CASE

AT this stage a subtle complication enters. The phenomenon of dissociated expressions, and, when developed, of dissociated personalities, more or less permanent or recurrent in some instances, voluntarily assumed or consented to in trance-states in other instances, is fully recognized by psychologists. Most students of Mrs. Piper hold that she gives her replies in a trance, that is, in a state dissociated from her wide-awake personality. But just how far the one (dissociated) half knows what the other (normal) half is saying is not clear. The line is as difficult to draw as between belief and make-belief in children, and more so. Such automatisms can be developed to a remarkable extent. An amazing instance is of American origin, occurring in an attractive and intelligent personality—the case of "Patience Worth," beginning as a halting revelation by painful spelling of words on a "ouiija" board and ending

with the fluent automatic authorship of a novel of creditable interest and workmanship, "Hope Trueblood." We have the assurance of the editor of Mrs. Curran's productions (Mrs. Curran is the normal personality of which "Patience Worth" is the dissociated literary alternate) that the historical knowledge, the scenes, the language, the incidents, the sentiments of her writings are beyond the reach of Mrs. Curran's earthly experiences and conscious memory. Mrs. Curran and her editor are unquestionably sincere, and the extraordinary accomplishment is free from the suspicion often surrounding mediumistic communication, the literary standards of which are commonly on a par with those of the medium. None the less, Mrs. Curran must be relied upon to solve the mystery. The spirit hypothesis is not definitely offered in connection with her automatic authorship. The logic of the supposition that these writings and their content cannot be accounted for by what is accredited in scientific psychology, is the interesting point in common with the "spirit" hypothesis.

A further phase of investigation must be touched upon. It offers an experimental approach to the problem. The hypothesis of "telepathy" assumes the communication of mind with mind apart from the recognized channels of the senses. The largest expenditure of energy and patience of "psychical researchers" has gone to prove telepathy as a power exercised by exceptional individuals. For if once this alleged power can be demonstrated to exist, it may be used as a means of explaining many another phenomenon of which the annals of psychic research are full to overflowing. To establish even the slightest presumption in favor of telepathy is a technical and laborious undertaking. We must be sure that the ordinary channels of communication, including the subtle ones of suggestion, of "fishing," and guessing, and shrewd inference, and involuntary clues, have been completely considered. Then there is coincidence; and to complex conditions the doctrine of chances is not easily applied. But this type of investigation is scientific in that the *experimenter controls the conditions*

and sets the tests, which is very far from true of the so-called test-seance. Carelessness or lack of insight on the experimenter's part may lead to apparently favorable results. Relying upon a considerable array of such experiments, certain English observers maintain that telepathy has long been established, though part of the evidence which they accepted (not so unlike the Paladino case) has since been shown to be the result of collusion and equally intelligible devices to conceal the mechanism of hints and clues and thus baffle the investigator. For once again it must be pointed out that the critical investigator must overcome the negative assumption that the thought transference was *not* accomplished by recognized methods, by showing just what these subtle processes are and how they operate. This is logically unfair since it is the telepathist's business to prove his case. As, however, the telepathist is satisfied with evidence which to critical standard is wholly inadequate, the only way to advance matters is to expose the inadequacy.

THE TELEPATHIC HYPOTHESIS

AN American investigator, Prof. J. E. Coover, working under the Stanford Endowment for Psychical Research, has set forth in convincing detail the requirements for a thorough investigation of the telepathic hypothesis. His conclusion is entirely negative; as in the case of snakes in Ireland *there is no telepathy*. But the reasons why persons believe in the existence of the psychic "snakes" or are convinced that they have seen them, are many and elusive and constitute a legitimate problem. Prominent in the findings is the proof of *subliminal* (often called subconscious) *indications* of thought or tendency or attitude; this, in turn, indicates the importance of the submerged life of the mind, now and then bringing to the surface data and motives ordinarily overlooked. The factor of *similar mental habits* is likewise responsible for many a coincidence, thus truly shown to be not pure chance—nor yet telepathy. Moreover, by the same careful and verifiable method, Professor Coover investigated the alleged powers of mediums or "psychics"—who flourish abundantly upon the Pacific

Coast—and found that when properly tested their powers were just as negative as those of the ordinary citizen. To assume telepathy as either a substitute for the “spirit” hypothesis or as operative in conjunction with it is to build upon sand.

It is only when we face the evidence offered for spirit agency and communication with some close appreciation of the many-sided problems which it presents, that we are properly equipped to appraise the value of the testimony of its supporters and the value of the phenomenon which is offered as evidential. If we add but one more type to the summary—obviously stripped to a bare outline—we shall have reviewed the most conspicuous, the most telling of the classes of evidence which have made recent converts to spiritualism among the educated and critically minded. These are the spontaneous appearances of apparitions of departed dear ones, or premonitions of death or serious situations, which are of all the most personally impressive of experiences; they are free from the suspicion attaching to mediumistic phenomena, but on the other hand suffer from vagueness and uncertainty in report. They cannot be summarily dismissed, nor can it be expected that in many cases they will carry more than a plausible suggestion of their origin. The most probable explanation is some falsification of memory or perception—not quite the same as a full-fledged hallucination, but akin in mechanism—or, again, some dissociation of the mind's equipment by which the creator of the impression conceals the fact that author and reader—the revealer and the one to whom the message is revealed—are one, yet with the relation so subtly disguised that the revelation comes with a sense of surprise. This is a familiar dream-trick, and dreams represent a form of dissociation; it is well described by Mr. Greenwood, who compares it to what would happen in conscious composition “if Sheridan wondered while he was writing his ‘School for Scandal’ why on earth a screen was to be placed on the stage in Act III, and found out the purpose with a shock of surprise when he caused the screen to fall.” The revelation

of the apparition or the premonition, the solution of a quest, is the breaking through to conscious awareness (at times with a dramatic intensity) of the subconscious undercurrents of the mind's imaginings. It is the persistence of such tendencies that underlies the central conception of the Freudian school of mental diagnosis and treatment.

This may seem a very roundabout approach to the revival of belief in spirits; but, as in other instances, the longer way around is the shorter way home. If the reader had been told that the revival was but another instance of the recurrence of credulity under mental stress, he would have felt personally unconvinced, and would have been ready with the rejoinder that psychology must have some more tangible and more constructive mode of disposing of the spirit hypothesis, if it expects a hearing. For here is a whole range of facts to be explained; and if not spirits, what then *is* the explanation? Consequently the counsel for the defense has a double duty, to point out the unreliability of the witnesses for the plaintiff and to indicate how much more consistently the whole issue may be explained in quite different and consistent terms. That the latter is the more important task is the reason for giving it the major consideration. Let us turn to the other phase of the problem.

DISTINGUISHED SCIENTISTS BELIEVE IN SPIRITS

PROMINENT among the sponsors for the belief in spirits with large influence upon the English-reading public are Sir Richard Crookes and Sir Oliver Lodge, both distinguished physicists with important contributions to science to their credit. But the assumption that they have carried on their investigations in spiritualism in the spirit of science is not only gratuitous, but demonstrably false. This from Sir Richard:

"I pass on to a seance held last night at Hackney. Katie never appeared to greater perfection, and for nearly two hours she walked about the room, conversing familiarly with those present. On several occasions she took my arm when walking, and the impression conveyed to my mind that it was a living woman at my side, instead of a visitor from the other world, was so strong"

that "I asked permission to clasp her in my arms," which being "graciously given . . . I accordingly did—well, as any gentleman would do under the circumstances."

"Could one want a better example," asks Mr. Tuckett, "of an unscientific attitude in a scientific investigator?" Sir William Barrett, another eminent physicist who also subscribes, though more reservedly, to similar occult phenomena, has summarized Sir William Crookes' position, after a quarter of a century of adherence to the "spirit" reality of phenomena repeatedly shown to be produced by vulgar fraud. He believes that raps are caused by an unseen intelligence, that light and heavy bodies can alter their weight, that a medium can be raised off the ground by spirit levitation, that musical instruments can be played without human hands and in a way impossible by normal means, that intelligent messages can be written by unseen hands, that red-hot coals can be handled without injury, and "most astonishing of all, under elaborate test conditions, a materialised and beautiful female figure several times appeared clothed in a white robe so real that not only was its pulse taken, but it was repeatedly photographed, sometimes by the aid of the electric arc light, and on one occasion simultaneously with and beside the entranced medium." The fact that the mediums responsible for most of the clauses in this creed were repeatedly detected in the grossest fraud did not alter Sir William's sublime faith.

Let the reader judge how far the principles of physics, which formed the life-work of Sir William Crookes, are upheld in the confession of his faith in spirits, or how far they show the working of the type of mind which we associate with scientific expertness in the weighing of evidence. Some of his friends explain that Sir William was extremely short-sighted, which prevented accurate observation. But the real defect is a mental one; the prejudice of belief blinds to the logic of interpretation even more than to the facts. And since such a state of mind can occur in those scientifically trained, with full cognisance of the principles of scientific evidence, one is inclined to the hypothesis of reserved areas of conviction, held immune to logic and

reserved for free play of emotion. Circumscribed blind-spots are formed in the mental vision—not unlike the *fixed ideas* (delusions) of abnormal minds, rational until their own vagaries are touched upon. One set of beliefs emotionally cherished or used as a release from the hampering restrictions of logic, is detached from the setting in the general consistency of one's mental system, and held tenaciously against all reason. There seems to be a craving for some outlet in which one may believe freely, warmly, without the compunction of logic or conscience. The man of science may be professionally critical and temperamentally credulous; or he may exercise his scientific qualities in one field and revel in their total abandonment in another where his emotional interests are engaged.

PROFESSOR LOMBROSO'S TESTIMONY

IN this bare statement the formula is applicable only in extreme cases, such as the one cited. Shaded and tempered to varied circumstances, it applies to many instances; nor does the application destroy the genuine admiration of the splendid qualities of mind with which such reservations are associated. Professor Lombroso is another example who, after "making it the indefatigable pursuit of his lifetime to defend the thesis that every force is a property of matter and the soul an emanation of the brain," went over to a belief in the genuineness of the manifestations of spiritualism physical and psychical. "He swallowed the lot at a gulp, from table raps to materialization of the departed, spirit photographs and spirit voices; every story, old or new, alike from savage and from civilized sources, confirmed his will to believe. He accepted, though only at second-hand, the story that a babe named Yenker gave replies to raps when two months old," and so on. It was the notorious Eusapia Paladino who enabled Professor Lombroso to see his deceased mother. "The mistakes in expression," he says, "made by the apparitions of the deceased are well known, and how they borrow from the language of the psychic and the experimenters. Removing her veil she gave me a kiss." Surely it is a charitable

judgment to see in this pathetic episode the frailty of the temperamental rather than the impugment of the scientific Lombroso.

A far greater man, Alfred Russel Wallace, may also be cited in favor of the hypothesis of mental reserved areas of faith or credulity in men of science. In his case the reservations covered more than one field, for he held that the non-recognition of phrenology was one of the serious errors of the nineteenth century. Sir Edward Clodd speaks of him as "that ardent and most credulous dupe of mediums" whose "capacious oesophagus swallowed all the stories of saints and butlers wafted into 'the central Blue.'" "What," says the convinced Dr. Wallace, "can be a more striking miracle than the levitation or raising of the human body into the air without visible cause, yet the fact has been testified to during a long series of centuries." Testifying as a witness in a legal trial in which the question of fraud in a medium was the issue, Dr. Wallace deposed that the medium being in a trance state "there appeared a faint white patch on the left side of his coat, which increased in density and spread till it reached his shoulder; then there was a space gradually widening to six feet between it and his body; it became very distinct and had the outline of a woman in flowing white drapery. * * * I was absolutely certain that it could not be produced by any possible trick."

Once more the query: Is this the testimony of a scientific man, who could so easily ascertain that just such effects had been repeatedly produced by the tricks of fraudulent mediums? Naturally men thus affected are considerate of others similarly convinced. Sir William Barrett cannot quite disown the notorious Paladino because so "competent an investigator" as the late "eminent criminologist Professor Lombroso, and the neurologist, Professor Morrelli, were convinced of the genuineness of the extraordinary phenomena they witnessed." And so the endorsement grows and the prestige of belief in spirits rises. The assumption that these men were convinced against their will or had to have extraordinary events happen to them to

win them over, is quite groundless. They act in these reserved areas of their minds just like common folk, even with the crude credulity of the uninformed, following the clue of their emotional prepossessions.

SIR OLIVER LODGE'S EXPLANATION

SIR Oliver Lodge belongs to the same group. He, too, has credited as genuinely "spiritual," types of physical performances which would make nonsense of the principles of physics which he professionally expounds. Is it a surviving sense of this logical contradiction that drives him to such explanations (?) as this: "A materialising power may continue, analogous to that which enabled us, when here on the planet, to assimilate all sort of material, to digest it and arrange it into the organism that served us a body. It is extraordinarily difficult to conceive of such a power, and impossible to suppose that it can be a direct power of a psychical agency unaided by the reproductive activity of any other unit already incarnate." And again: "The fact that a photograph can be clearly recognized when the medium has only seen the person clairvoyantly, on the other side of the veil, is suggestive, since it seems to show that the general appearance is preserved—or, in other words, that each human body is a true representation of personality." If the belief in spiritualism compels an intellect that copes with the intricacies of a physical laboratory and uses them to the advancement of his science, to indulge in such obscuring speculations, what justice is there in carrying the prestige of the one to cover the darkening confusion of the other?

With naive credulity Sir Oliver accepts the genuineness of the ordinary medium's tricks of the trade; he examines with the sober interest of rare importance the driveling replies to leading questions obtained from mediums who live upon the ignorance and the emotional misery of souls in distress. Embracing the facts his scientific bent requires a theory; he indulges in pages of confusing and hopelessly extravagant explanations, forsaking all sanity of scientific view. Abusing his prestige as a man of science, he sub-

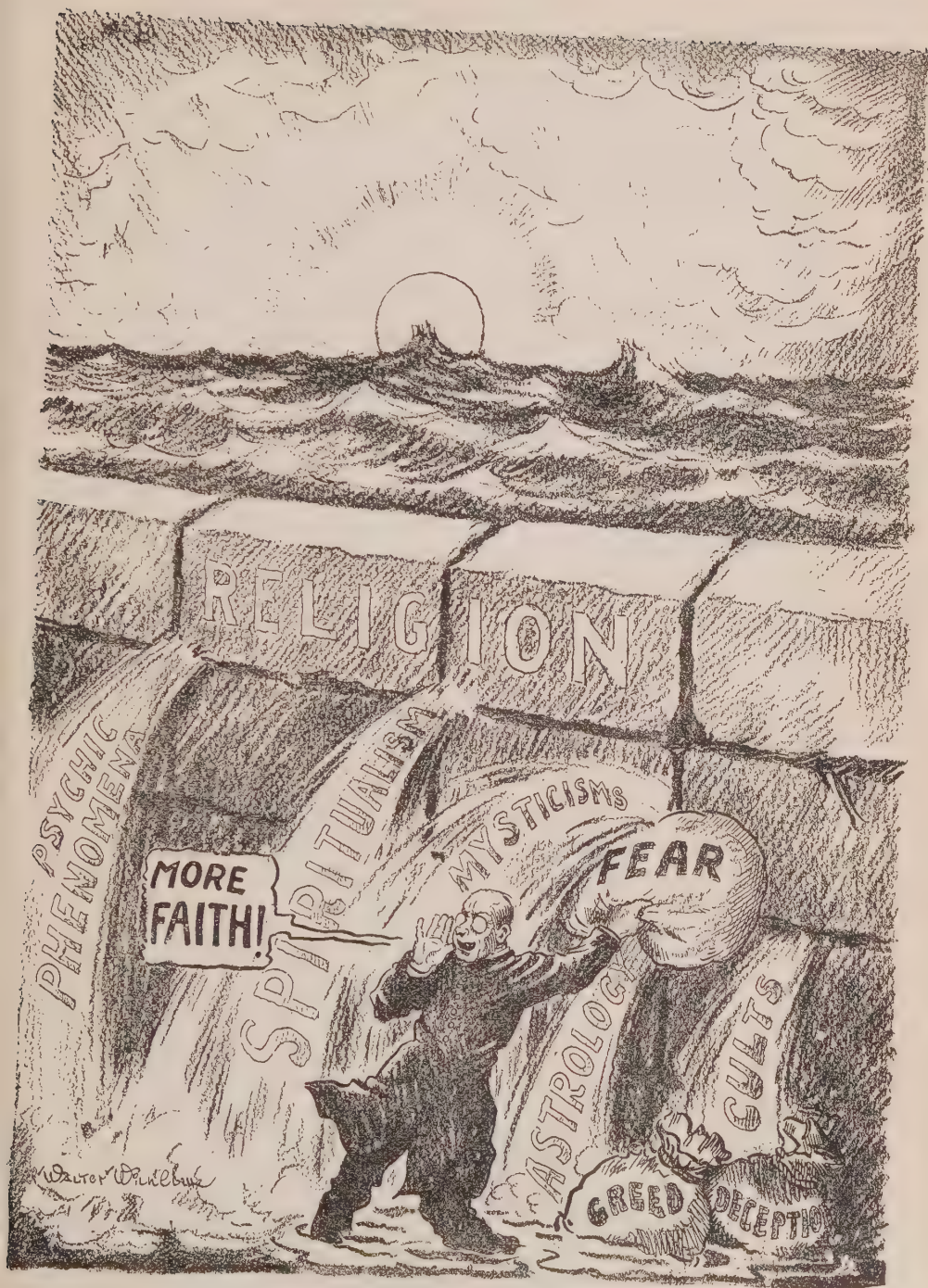
stitutes his interpretations for the facts themselves, which are at once too crude and too vulgar to face the glare of serious scrutiny. Naturally this attitude arouses the indignation of his fellow-scientists. Dr. Charles Mercier plainly puts the case: "It is not for the scientific world, or for any one else, to disprove Sir Oliver Lodge's assertions, his doctrines, his interpretations, or his facts. *The onus is on him to prove them.* * * * As long as he offers us interpretation of fact in the place of fact, he is not even entitled to a hearing." When the alleged facts are precisely of the kind which abound in the lowest haunts of the paid seance profiting by the credulity of the gullible, moral responsibility is added to the offense of scientific apostasy.

SIR OLIVER LODGE A "SAVAGE ANIMIST"

SIR EDWARD Clodd's lucid account of the issues in the case warrants him in addressing the author of *Raymond* as follows:

"You, Sir Oliver, knowing, as you must have known, the taint which permeates the early history of Spiritualism, its inception in fraud and the detection of a succession of tricksters from the Fox girls onwards, and thereby cautioned to be on your guard, have proved yourself, on your own admission, incompetent to detect the frauds of Eusapia Palladino. You and Sir William Barrett, who says that there is evidence of his supernatural knowledge, accept and quote, as parts of a new revelation, from the automatic writings of the Rev. Stainton Moses. Your faith in the integrity of Mrs. Piper, despite her failure, crowned by her confession, withdrawn, it is true, but none the less a fact, remains unshaken. You lose a dear son in the holiest of causes for which a man can die; you forthwith repair to a modern Witch of Endor to seek, at second hand, consolations which assuredly he whom you mourn would, in preference, pour direct into your attuned and sympathetic ear; you—one of the most prominent and best known of men—are simple enough to believe that your anonymity and that of your wife and family was secure at the early seances which Mrs. Leonard and Mr. Vout Peters gave you. And with what dire result—the publication of a series of spurious communications, a large portion of which is mischievous drivel, dragging with it into the mire whatever lofty conceptions of a spiritual world have been framed by mortals.

"What is more serious, your maleficent influence gives impetus to the recrudescence of superstition which is so deplorable a feature of these days. The difference between the mediums whom you consult and the lower grade of fortune-tellers who are had up and fined or imprisoned as rogues and vagabonds is one of



Troubled Waters

degree, not of kind. The sellers of the thousands of mascots—credulity in which as life-preservers and luck-bringers is genuine—the palmists, and all other professors of the occult, have in you their unacknowledged patron.

"Thus you, who have achieved high rank as a physicist, descend to the plane of the savage animist, surrendering the substance for the shadow. Surely the mysteries which in your physical researches meet you at every turn, baffling your skill to penetrate, should make you pause ere you accept the specious solutions of the momentous problems which lie on the threshold of the Unknown Hereafter.

"You, and those who credit you and other notable men of science as speaking with authority, will not be shaken in your convictions; but there may be some, who through reading these pages, will agree that when—it may be, I fear, in no near future—the ghost of Spiritualism is laid its epitaph should be:

'Behold, I was shapen in iniquity,
And in sin did my mother conceive me.'"

The trend toward a belief in the occult is far more influential as an instance of the will to believe than for any evidential appeal in the "facts" considered. It is futile to consider the one phase of the problem and neglect the other; for it is the will to believe in the supernatural that has created much of the evidence and distorted the meaning of the rest. The whole forms an instructive chapter in the psychology of conviction. Its most recent phase results from the widespread bereavement which has fallen upon a saddened world, and the natural longing to seek consolation from the cruel inevitability of deep sorrow. The sanctity of the honor in which we hold the memory of those who died in the great cause, no less than the sacred traditions in which the faith in immortality is set in the hearts of religious believers should forbid the desecration of sentiment by the profane hand or voice of the professional medium.

The conclusion of Mr. Stuart Cumberland is apt. He will be remembered as an expert "muscle-reader," whose astonishing performances of what can be done to read minds by following the delicate clue of muscles fits him peculiarly to realize the delicate and treacherous evidence upon which converts to spirit-agency are made. In all his experiences with many varieties of so-called occult phenomena he has never come upon a case that cannot be better explained by natural factors. He realizes (1917)

that the "heavy death toll and fateful uncertainty affecting every section of the community" will tempt "the practitioners on the shady side of spiritism." The wine which the laborer in the spiritual vineyard presses "as he rakes in the notes, is the flow of tears from the sorrowful and the distressed. It is not only a shady business, but it is a mean and cruel one and should be put an end to. If the foolish cannot or will not protect themselves, they must be protected against their folly." The only adequate protection is an understanding of the spurious character of much of the evidence and the subtle temptation which the will to believe offers to unprepared minds; and no less the unwarranted importance attached to the endorsements of those whose high qualifications in one branch of learning failed to protect them from the common failings of prepossession.

CLEANING OUR DIPLOMATIC HOUSE

By HON. WILLIAM PHILLIPS
(United States Assistant Secretary of State)

WHY I WOULDN'T BE AN AMBASSADOR

By MARK TWAIN

From THE FORUM for March, 1899

P. S. Vienna, *January 10*.—I see, by this morning's telegraphic news, that I am not to be the new ambassador here, after all. This—well, I hardly know what to say. I—well, of course I do not care anything about it; but it is at least a surprise. I have for many months been using my influence at Washington to get this diplomatic see expanded into an ambassadorship, with the idea, of course, th—But never mind. Let it go. It is of no consequence. I say it calmly; for I am calm. But now, while I am calm, I would like to say this—that, so long as I shall continue to possess an American's proper pride in the honor and dignity of his country, I will not take any ambassadorship in the gift of the flag at a salary short of \$75,000 a year. If I shall be charged with wanting to live beyond my country's means, I cannot help it. A country which cannot afford ambassador's wages should be ashamed to have ambassadors.

Think of a seventeen-thousand-five-hundred-dollar ambassador! Particularly for *America*. Why, it is the most ludicrous spectacle, the most inconsistent and incongruous spectacle contrivable by even the most diseased imagination. It is a billionaire in a paper collar, a king in a breech-clout, an archangel in a tin halo.

AMERICA stands for a great ideal. We want to keep that ideal clean and untarnished so that it may be

a beacon of hope to other less fortunate people in the world; yet, in our spirit of national idealism we are apt to expect all the world to accept us at our own valuation, and we are amazed if our good intentions are doubted. But critical and envious eyes are, in fact, turned upon us; some are fearful of our wealth; others distrust us and believe that it is our ambition to dominate the world, and it is possible that those who doubt already will become the more convinced in their views as American trade increases and the Stars and Stripes are seen floating from more and more merchant ships in all parts of the world.

Undoubtedly a new era is at hand and the relations of Americans to other peoples of the earth will henceforth become more intimate not only because of our increased interest in foreign markets, but because the world has grown smaller through wireless communication and rapid transportation. As our relations with other countries become closer, so it is more important that our ideals and purposes are understood and respected. American purposes, therefore, must be henceforth correctly interpreted to foreign peoples and it is equally important that the ideals and purposes of other peoples shall be correctly interpreted to us, and both of these responsibilities fall upon the foreign service of the Government.

Is it not, therefore, worth our while to give the men who have such grave responsibilities our consideration? They are the physical embodiment in foreign lands of our great country, and it is through them that the voice of America is heard. It is they who must explain America. It is they who must caution us at home when we are too impulsive in our dealings with foreign peoples. The dignity of America is increased or decreased according to the personalities and standing of these men, for it is a fact that in those parts of the world where Americans are little known, America stands for good or evil according to the standards for good or bad of our official representatives.

HOW OUR FOREIGN SERVICE WORKS

THE foreign service is centered in the Department of State. It is one great machine operating for one purpose—that of facilitating the intercourse of the United States with the rest of the world. This machine is divided into two parts—the Diplomatic Service and the Consular Service. Each part contributes its share to the success of the whole. Neither service stands alone. Each is dependent upon the other and must work in co-operation with the other. The Diplomatic Service is accredited to foreign governments and peoples and has as its principal function the cultivation of good will. The Consular Service is accredited to cities and districts and has as its principal functions the extension of American trade and the protection of Americans residing abroad. Trade and good will go hand in hand, for foreign trade rests upon good will between nations, and without good will it cannot prosper.

The money that we lend abroad, the railroads we construct, the bridges we build, the goods that we sell, raise questions with which both branches of the foreign service must deal. Before equality of treatment in commerce is secured to us, a treaty must be negotiated and its provisions maintained. Our share of the world's foreign trade is subject to all the winds of international politics that blow. Preferential agreements or the opening of a new trade route may close a market to us. Labor conditions or crop failures across the seas may be disastrous to our business year or reveal new and unexpected trade possibilities. Eternal vigilance on the part of the foreign service is the price of our safety in foreign trade.

Merely as an example, I quote from a letter received recently from the American Minister at Warsaw: "Today the Consul was getting samples of Polish porcelain to send to American firms with a view to establishing trade relations. At the same time, I am trying for a consultation with him to arrange the financial agreements and the transportation that will enable these firms to do their business with Poland." In brief, the consul deals with the

details while the diplomatic representative handles the general movements and the principles of trade.

The diplomatic representative is the embodiment of the Government and people of the United States. He must command the confidence of the Government and people to whom he is accredited, which is not easy unless he has an intimate knowledge of his own country and at the same time a real sympathy with the point-of-view of other nations. Although he has numberless duties to perform, the high purpose of his mission is to strengthen the foundation that will insure for all times intellectual and commercial intercourse of foreign countries with his own country.

The work of consuls is more tangible than that of diplomats. To be successful, a consul must secure immediate results, and result-getting is a factor that brings popularity to the successful performer. The consular officer is in touch with the business men of the community in which he resides and can, therefore, advise American business men of commercial opportunities which are open to them. When he returns from his work abroad, he comes personally in touch with American business and is recognized by the business community here as an important asset in the extension and development of foreign commerce. Chambers of Commerce throughout the country, have naturally rallied to his support and because of their interest in his welfare, the President and Congress have responded to the needs of the Consular Service and have raised it from a feeble organization, wholly dependent upon the spoils system, to a national institution of dignity and prominence. Young men from all over the country are seeking to become consuls because they feel that the country is behind the Consular Service and they are proud to offer themselves for such an honorable career.

One branch of the Foreign Service—the consular—has come into its own because of its immediate result-getting capacity. The other branch—the diplomatic—without which consular activities cannot function, has not come into

its own probably because its results are less tangible and therefore it has failed to arouse interest and support.

WHERE ARE OUR DIPLOMATS?

LET us see how young America regards the Diplomatic Service. Recently there were about thirty vacancies among the secretaries of embassies and legations and to fill these vacancies an examination was held as required by the regulations governing admission to the service. The State Department made every effort to incite interest in the forthcoming examinations, but, although numbers of inquiries were received, only ten men appeared in Washington for the examination. Fortunately, simultaneously an examination was held in Paris for Americans then in the Army which was a little more successful. But the lesson is plain. Very few will consider for a moment entering upon a career which has so doubtful a future and which has little support or backing from Congress or from the country. It is even more to their credit that, in spite of all drawbacks, there are in the service, now, men who have loyally served the Government for years without proper remuneration or much encouragement. But the highest standard for the service can only be reached if for every vacancy there is competition from among the best elements of young men in the country; and there can be no competition until the service is made more worth while to enter.

The salaries of the diplomatic officers are a farce. A young man is expected to give up the brilliant opportunities offered him at home for services in foreign capitals at a salary of \$1500 per annum. If he makes a success of his career and remains in the service for ten or twelve years, he may expect, as the highest reward, a salary of \$3000 per annum. It is true that during the war Congress appropriated for the secretaries of embassy or legation a so-called post allowance in order to make up to them the increased cost of living, but this appropriation, when spread over the whole service, does not nearly meet the increased cost of living in foreign countries, is of a temporary nature and may terminate at any time.

And then there is not much assurance given that merit will be recognized by promotion from the rank of secretary to minister. I am seeing constantly the look of discouragement upon the faces of men who deserve the highest consideration from their country for their efficient and loyal service. The discouragement of men of experience pervades the lower ranks of the service and affects the whole system. Granted that Congress increases the salaries of all the secretaries, granted that the Government purchases its own embassies and legations, granted a hundred other needed reforms, there can be nothing permanent, nothing really substantial, nothing which will bring the Diplomatic Service up to the highest standards, until the secretary is assured that, if he makes really good, if he becomes of genuine and far-reaching usefulness to the Government, his field of usefulness will be increased by his promotion to the rank of minister and eventually even to that of ambassador. In other words, merit must be recognized in the Diplomatic Service just as it is now recognized in the Consular Service, and until this is assured, all other reforms may perhaps be waste of time. Do not understand me as recommending that all ambassadors and ministers shall be appointed from the ranks of the secretaries. That would be a grave mistake and would crush that spirit of efficiency which, through competition from within and without the service, we hope to obtain.

OUR HOMELESS AMBASSADORS

MUCH has been said and written in behalf of the Government owning its embassies and legations instead of permitting each ambassador or minister to rent his own dwelling. A rich man now rents a "palace;" a poor man struggles to find an humble "lodging" within the Government salary, and it is always puzzling to peoples of foreign lands just why all-powerful America should be represented among them first by a "palace," and a year or two later by a "lodging." Of course, the answer is that the Government should require its representatives to adopt a standard[§] of living of suitable dignity and this can be accom-

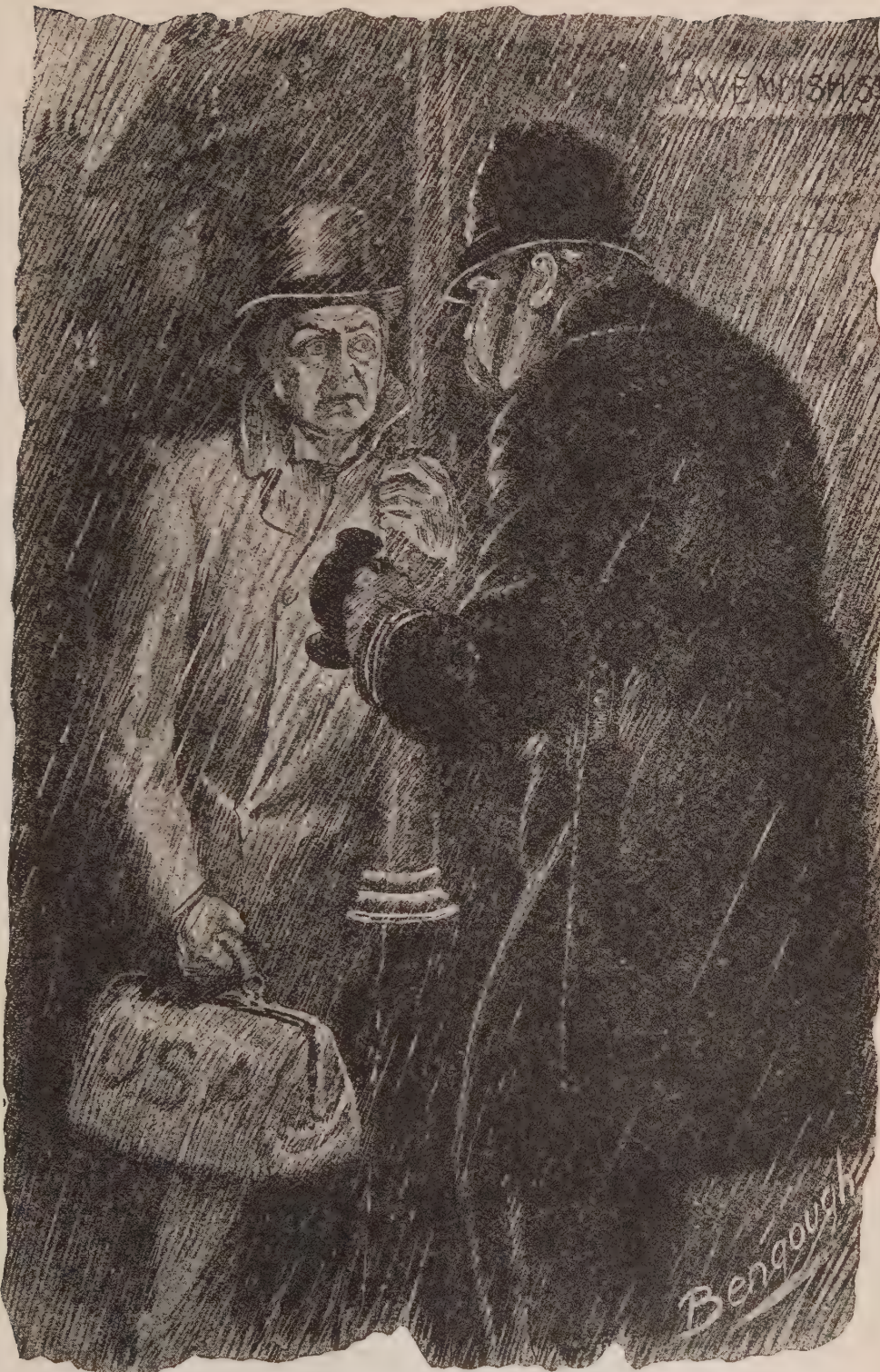
plished only by requiring its representatives to occupy a governmental residence and by making it possible for a poor man, through an increased allowance, to live there as well as a rich man. The absurdity of the present lack of system is shown by the allowances which the French, the British and our other competitors in the markets of the world furnish their own diplomatic representatives. In London the French Republic owns a splendid mansion and the French Ambassador receives a salary of \$45,000 per annum. The United States has no residence and pays only a nominal salary of \$17,500.

I remember shortly after Joseph Choate arrived in London, as American Ambassador, he was obliged to spend weeks of his precious time in hunting for a house. This became a topic of comment and amusement in the English press, and a famous caricature appeared depicting Choate clinging to a lamp-post on a dark and dreary night. A policeman approached and told him to move on home, to which he replied: "Home! home! I have no home; I am the American Ambassador."

In Berlin, both France and England own splendid government buildings and in addition pay their diplomatic representatives \$33,938 and \$48,932, respectively, while the United States, of course, owns nothing and pays its usual nominal salary of \$17,500. In Siam, the Siamese Government took pity upon the United States and presented it with a piece of land in the hopes that we would build thereon; but no, we accepted the gift but trembled at the thought of spending anything upon it, with the result that a large slice of the land has slipped into the river. We have made a beginning, however, in the right direction by owning diplomatic residences in two or three capitals—but only the merest beginning. Year after year recommendations have been made to Congress looking to improvements—to raising salaries, to purchasing buildings, etc.—and some important reforms have been accomplished, notably the Act of February 5, 1915, grading secretaries and consuls just as officers in the Army and Navy are graded, but it is

Our Homeless Diplomat

JUNE 18/53



Bobby—"Come, move on home."

Choate—"Home! home! I have no home; I am the American Ambassador."

admitted that without a public opinion in favor of general improvements throughout the service, without the help of American business, no administration can hope to accomplish any great results.

It is a popular conception that the diplomat leaves to the consul all questions dealing with trade and commerce. That is very far from the truth. The economic and the political relations of states are so closely allied that the line of demarcation is almost invisible. This has always been so in the past and will be all the more so in the future. With the great problems of reconstruction—new frontiers, new treaties and new boundaries—with which the world is confronted, the diplomatic officer must be thoroughly conversant; also with the economic features of the country to which is accredited and their relation to and influence upon the affairs of the United States. He must be able to recognize cause and effect, to interpret changing conditions and, when necessary, to deal concretely with concrete economic problems.

Is it not time for us all to put our heads together and to demand that the Diplomatic Service shall be cared for? Has the time not come when our responsibilities abroad require that the foreign service as a whole shall be truly representative of our national life, of our highest standards, and of the new spirit of democracy which is now coming upon the world?

THE CASE AGAINST THE "REDS"

By ATTORNEY GENERAL PALMER

By request of THE FORUM, Attorney-General Palmer presents herewith his explanation of the Government's reason for deporting the "Reds."

The plans for fomenting a nation-wide revolution in this country, prepared by Trotzky in Moscow, are in the files of the Attorney-General's office. It is upon these proofs that the Attorney-General has decided upon a vigorous system of arrest and deportation of radical aliens, which he says he will pursue till the United States is purged of Bolshevism.

In this article, the Attorney-General sets forth his legal authority for wholesale arrests and deportation, revealing the entire program of the Department of Justice against Radicalism.

IN this brief review of the work which the Department of Justice has undertaken, to tear out the radical seeds that have entangled American ideas in their poisonous theories, I desire not merely to explain what the real menace of communism is, but also to tell how we have been compelled to clean up the country almost unaided by any virile legislation. Though I have not been embarrassed by political opposition, I have been materially delayed because the present sweeping processes of arrests and deportation of seditious aliens should have been vigorously pushed by Congress last spring. The failure of this is a matter of record in the Congressional files.

The anxiety of that period in our responsibility when Congress, ignoring the seriousness of these vast organizations that were plotting to overthrow the Government, failed to act, has passed. The time came when it was

obviously hopeless to expect the hearty co-operation of Congress, in the only way to stamp out these seditious societies in their open defiance of law by various forms of propaganda.

Like a prairie-fire, the blaze of revolution was sweeping over every American institution of law and order a year ago. It was eating its way into the homes of the American workman, its sharp tongues of revolutionary heat were licking the altars of the churches, leaping into the belfry of the school bell, crawling into the sacred corners of American homes, seeking to replace marriage vows with libertine laws, burning up the foundations of society.

Robbery, not war, is the ideal of communism. This has been demonstrated in Russia, Germany, and in America. As a foe, the anarchist is fearless of his own life, for his creed is a fanaticism that admits no respect of any other creed. Obviously it is the creed of any criminal mind, which reasons always from motives impossible to clean thought. Crime is the degenerate factor in society.

Upon these two basic certainties, first that the "Reds" were criminal aliens, and secondly that the American Government must prevent crime, it was decided that there could be no nice distinctions drawn between the theoretical ideals of the radicals and their actual violations of our national laws. An assassin may have brilliant intellectuality, he may be able to excuse his murder or robbery with fine oratory, but any theory which excuses crime is not wanted in America. This is no place for the criminal to flourish, nor will he do so, so long as the rights of common citizenship can be exerted to prevent him.

OUR GOVERNMENT IN JEOPARDY

IT has always been plain to me that when American citizens unite upon any national issue, they are generally right, but it is sometimes difficult to make the issue clear to them. If the Department of Justice could succeed in attracting the attention of our optimistic citizens to the issue of internal revolution in this country, we felt sure there would be no revolution. The Government was in jeopardy.

My private information of what was being done by the organization known as the Communist Party of America, with headquarters in Chicago, of what was being done by the Communist Internationale under their manifesto planned at Moscow last March by Trotzky, Lenine and others, addressed "To the Proletariats of All Countries," of what strides the Communist Labor Party was making, removed all doubt. In this conclusion we did not ignore the definite standards of personal liberty, of free speech, which is the very temperament and heart of the people. The evidence was examined with the utmost care, with a personal leaning toward freedom of thought and word on all questions.

The whole mass of evidence, accumulated from all parts of the country, was scrupulously scanned, not merely for the written or spoken differences of viewpoint as to the Government of the United States, but, in spite of these things, to see if the hostile declarations might not be sincere in their announced motive to improve our social order. There was no hope of such a thing.

By stealing, murder and lies, Bolshevism has looted Russia not only of its material strength, but of its moral force. A small clique of outcasts from the East Side of New York has attempted this, with what success we all know. Because a disreputable alien—Leon Bronstein, the man who now calls himself Trotzky—can inaugurate a reign of terror from his throne room in the Kremlin; because this lowest of all types known to New York can sleep in the Czar's bed, while hundreds of thousands in Russia are without food or shelter, should Americans be swayed by such doctrines?

Such a question, it would seem, should receive but one answer from America.

My information showed that communism in this country was an organization of thousands of aliens, who were direct allies of Trotzky. Aliens of the same misshapen caste of mind and indecencies of character, and it showed that they were making the same glittering promises of lawlessness, of criminal autocracy to Americans, that

they had made to the Russian peasants. How the Department of Justice discovered upwards of 60,000 of these organized agitators of the Trotzky doctrine in the United States, is the confidential information upon which the Government is now sweeping the nation clean of such alien filth. Merely as a part of this review, to make it complete, it must be shown how the Department of Justice proceeds to cause deportations today. For the moment we must go back to my report to the Senate of the United States, on November 4th, 1919, in response to the Senate Resolution of October 14, 1919, which is as follows:

"Resolved, that the Attorney-General of the United States is requested to advise and inform the Senate whether or not the Department of Justice has taken the legal proceedings, and if not, why not, and if so, to what extent, for the arrest and punishment of the various persons within the United States, who, during recent days and weeks, and for a considerable time, continuously previous thereto, it is alleged, have attempted to bring about the forcible overthrow of the Government of the United States; who, it is alleged have preached anarchy and perdition, and who it is alleged have advised the defiance of law and authority, both by the printing and circulation of printed newspapers, books, pamphlets, circulars, stickers, and dodgers, and also by spoken word; and who, in like manner it is alleged, have advised and openly advocated the unlawful obstruction of industry and the unlawful and violent destruction of property, in the pursuance of a deliberate plan and purpose to destroy existing property rights and to impede and obstruct the conduct of business essential to the prosperity and life of the community.

"Also the Attorney-General is requested to advise and inform the Senate whether or not the Department of Justice has taken legal proceedings for the arrest and deportation of aliens, who, it is alleged, have, within the United States, permitted the acts aforesaid, and if not, why not, and if so, to what extent."

In replying to this request, I found it necessary to divide the subject under three headings as follows:

(1) The Conditions of Our Legislation; (2) The Deportation of Aliens; (3) General Activities of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice.

Briefly, in this article, the entire surface of the work of the Department of Justice will be surveyed.

SEDITION REACHED BY ESPIONAGE ACT

IT was shown in my report to the Senate that the Espionage Act, approved June 15, 1917, and amended May

16, 1918, was invoked to be used against seditious utterances and acts, although I felt that it was limited to acts and utterances only which tended to weaken the waging of actual hostilities. Evidently there were others who saw my difficulty, however, among them even Senator Poin-dexter, who introduced the resolution under which I made my report and who subsequently sought to repeal it, by Congressman LaGuardia, Senator La Follette, Senator France, and Mr. Voigt, in House Bill No. 1697. Nevertheless, I caused to be brought several test prosecutions in order to obtain a court ruling on the Espionage Law and its application to seditions committed since the cessation of the armed activity of our forces.

I did this because our general statutes as to treason and rebellion do not apply to the present radical activities, with the exception of Section 6 of the Federal Penal Code of 1910, which says:

"If two or more persons in any State or Territory or in any place subject to the jurisdiction of the United States conspire to overthrow, put down or to destroy by force, the Government of the United States, or to levy war against them, or to oppose by force the authority thereof, or by force to prevent, hinder or delay, the execution of any law of the United States, or by force to seize, take or possess any property of the United States, contrary to the authority thereof, they shall each be fined, not more than \$5,000 or imprisonment not more than six years, or both."

Although this Act by no means covered individual activities, under this law I prosecuted the El Arieto Society, an anarchistic organization in operation in Buffalo, N. Y., indicting three of its members for circulating a manifesto which was an appeal to the proletariat to arise and destroy the Government of the United States by force, and substitute Bolshevism or anarchy in place thereof. It was printed in Spanish. Phrases such as, "the proletariat of all countries to invite to participate the revolution," "for all others who suffer the evils of servitude must join in the conflict," "to attach the State directly and assail it without hesitation or compunction," were uncompromisingly seditious advice. In threatening the officers of the Govern-

ment, the manifesto went on to say, presumably addressing the officers themselves:

"Cannibals, your hour of reckoning has arrived. You have fattened before having your throats cut like hogs. You haven't lived and consequently cannot die decently like men. You are at your wits ends and at the prospects of millions of human beings everywhere rising and not only asking, but demanding and executing vengeance for the promotion of your usurpt interests. Yes, they will overwhelm you. We are convinced that rebellion is the noble vindication of slaves, that from generation to generation the shameful reproach of slavery has now come. Make way for Bolshevism, for the Department of Labor, Mines, Railroads, fields, factories, and shops. Let the Soviet be organized promptly. The ideal is not converted into facts until it has come to consciousness after having been acquired by the sacrifice of innumerable voluntary victims."

On motion to dismiss the indictment this case came before Judge Hazel of the Western District Court of New York, July 24, 1919, who, after hearing counsel, dismissed the case and discharged the defendants. In his opinion the Court, after citing Section 6, said:

"I do not believe that the acts and deeds set forth in the indictment and the evidence given in support of it establish an offense such as this Section which I have just read contemplates."

However, the language of this Spanish document was so violent and desperate in its declarations of defiance to the existing Government of the United States, that I, at once, placed the entire record of this case before the Commissioner of Immigration, with a recommendation that the defendants involved be deported as undesirable aliens.

All deportation activities conducted since by the Department of Justice against the "Reds" have been with the co-operation of the Department of Labor, which issued the warrants of arrest and deportation recommended by evidence that meets the conditions of the Federal Penal Code of 1910. I pointed out to the Senate certain classes of radical activities that might come under certain sections of this Penal Code:

1. "Those who have attempted to bring about the forcible overthrow of the Government of the United States have committed no crime unless their acts amount to treason, rebellion or seditious conspiracy." This is defined in Section 1, 4 and 6 of the Criminal Code above quoted."

NO LAWS AGAINST SOME "RED" CRIMES

THERE were other activities of the Reds, however, for which there was no legislation. These were:

2. "The preaching of anarchy and sedition is not a crime under the general criminal statutes of the United States.

3. "Advising the defiance of law is not a crime under the general criminal laws whether the same be done by printing and circulating literature or by the spoken word.

4. "Nor is the advising and openly advocating the unlawful obstruction of industry and the unlawful and violent destruction of property a crime under the United States general statutes."

These conclusions were reached after wide consultation with the best criminal lawyers in the country. In my testimony before the sub-committee of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate on July 14, 1919, at its request, I had fully outlined the conditions threatening internal revolution in the nation that confronted us. Legislation which I then recommended to meet this great menace has not been enacted. This is not my fault, for I knew that Congress was fully aware of the "Reds' " activities in this country.

Many States passed certain acts which embodied the basis of my request to Congress for national legislation bearing upon radicalism. California, Indiana, Michigan, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Washington and West Virginia have passed State laws governing the rebellious acts of the "Reds" in their separate territories. These States have infinitely greater legal force at their command against the revolutionary element than the United States Government, for detecting and punishing seditious acts. In their equipment of men to carry out their laws, they far surpass the facilities of the Department of Justice. New York City alone has 12,000 policeman charged with the duty of investigation, and the District Attorney of New York County has a force of over fifty prosecuting attorneys.

Under the appropriations granted by Congress to the Department of Justice, the maximum number of men engaged in the preparation of the violation of all United States laws is limited to about 500 for the entire country. Startling as this fact may seem to the reader who discovers it for the first time, it is the highest testimony to the services

of these men, that the Department of Justice of the United States, is today, a human net that no outlaw can escape. It has been netted together in spite of Congressional indifference, intensified by the individual patriotism of its personnel aroused to the menace of revolution, inspired to superlative action above and beyond private interests.

One of the chief incentives for the present activity of the Department of Justice against the "Reds" has been the hope that American citizens will, themselves, become voluntary agents for us, in a vast organization for mutual defense against the sinister agitation of men and women aliens, who appear to be either in the pay or under the criminal spell of Trotzky and Lenine.

DEPORTATIONS UNDER IMMIGRATION LAWS

TEMPORARY failure to seize the alien criminals in this country who are directly responsible for spreading the unclean doctrines of Bolshevism here, only increased the determination to get rid of them. Obviously, their offenses were related to our immigration laws, and it was finally decided to act upon that principle. Those sections of the Immigration Law applicable to the deportation of aliens committing acts enumerated in the Senate Resolution of October 14, 1919, above quoted, were found in the Act of Congress, approved October 16, 1918, amending the immigration laws of the United States.

By the administration of this law deportations have been made, the law being as follows:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

"Sec. 1. That aliens who are anarchists; aliens who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law; aliens who disbelieve in or who are opposed to all organized government; aliens who advocate or teach the assassination of public officials; aliens who advocate or teach the unlawful destruction of property; aliens who are members of or affiliated with any organization that entertains a belief in, teaches, or advocates the overthrow by force or by violence of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law, or that entertains or teaches disbelief in or opposition to all organized Government, or that advocates the duty, necessity or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer or officers, either of specific individuals or of officers generally, of

the Government of the United States, or of any other organized Government, because of his or their official character, or that advocates or teaches the unlawful destruction of property, shall be excluded from admission into the United States.

"Sec. 2. That any alien who, at any time, after entering the United States, is found to have been at the time of entry, or to become thereafter, a member of any one of the classes of aliens enumerated in Sec. 1 of this Act, shall upon the warrant of the Secretary of Labor, be taken into custody and deported in the manner provided in the Immigration Act of Feb. 5, 1917. The provisions of this Section shall be applicable to the classes of aliens mentioned in this Act irrespective of the time of their entry into the United States."

Although this law is entirely under the jurisdiction of the Department of Labor, it seemed to be the only means at my disposal of attacking the radical movement. To further this plan, as Congress had seen fit to refuse appropriations to the Department of Labor which might have enabled it to act vigorously against the "Reds," I offered to co-operate with the immigration officials to the fullest extent. My appropriation became available July 19, 1919. I then organized what is known as the Radical Division.

Briefly this is a circumstantial statement of the present activities of the Department of Justice, co-operating with the Department of Labor, against the "Reds." They require no defense, nor can I accept as true the counter claims of the "Reds" themselves, who, apparently indifferent to their disgrace, violent in their threats against the United States Government, until they are out of sight and sound of it, betray the characterless ideas and purposes that Trotzky has impressed upon the criminal classes which constitute communism.

WILL DEPORTATIONS CHECK BOLSHEVISM?

BEHIND, and underneath, my own determination to drive from our midst the agents of Bolshevism with increasing vigor and with greater speed, until there are no more of them left among us, so long as I have the responsible duty of that task, I have discovered the hysterical methods of these revolutionary humans with increasing amazement and suspicion. In the confused information that sometimes reaches the people, they are compelled to ask ques-

tions which involve the reasons for my acts against the "Reds." I have been asked, for instance, to what extent deportation will check radicalism in this country. Why not ask what will become of the United States Government if these alien radicals are permitted to carry out the principles of the Communist Party as embodied in its so-called laws, aims and regulations?

There wouldn't be any such thing left. In place of the United States Government we should have the horror and terrorism of bolsheviki tyranny such as is destroying Russia now. Every scrap of radical literature demands the overthrow of our existing government. All of it demands obedience to the instincts of criminal minds, that is, to the lower appetites, material and moral. The whole purpose of communism appears to be a mass formation of the criminals of the world to overthrow the decencies of private life, to usurp property that they have not earned, to disrupt the present order of life regardless of health, sex or religious rights. By a literature that promises the wildest dreams of such low aspirations, that can occur to only the criminal minds, communism distorts our social law.

The chief appeal communism makes is to "The Worker." If they can lure the wage-earner to join their own gang of thieves, if they can show him that he will be rich if he steals, so far they have succeeded in betraying him to their own criminal course.

Read this manifesto issued in Chicago:

THE COMMUNIST PARTY MANIFESTO

"The world is on the verge of a new era. Europe is in revolt. The masses of Asia are stirring uneasily. Capitalism is in collapse. The workers of the world are seeing a new light and securing new courage. Out of the night of war is coming a new day.

"The spectre of communism haunts the world of capitalism. Communism, the hope of the workers to end misery and oppression.

"The workers of Russia smashed the front of international Capitalism and Imperialism. They broke the chains of the terrible war; and in the midst of agony, starvation and the attacks of the Capitalists of the world, they are creating a new social order.

"The class war rages fiercely in all nations. Everywhere the workers are in a desperate struggle against their capitalist masters. The call to action has come. The workers must answer the call!

"The Communist Party of America is the party of the working class. The Communist Party proposes to end Capitalism and organize a workers' industrial republic. The workers must control industry and dispose of the product of industry. The Communist Party is a party realizing the limitation of all existing workers' organizations and proposes to develop the revolutionary movement necessary to free the workers from the oppression of Capitalism. The Communist Party insists that the problems of the American worker are identical with the problems of the workers of the world."

These are the revolutionary tenets of Trotsky and the Communist Internationale. Their manifesto further embraces the various organizations in this country of men and women obsessed with discontent, having disorganized relations to American society. These include the I. W. W.'s, the most radical socialists, the misguided anarchists, the agitators who oppose the limitations of unionism, the moral perverts and the hysterical neurasthenic women who abound in communism. The phraseology of their manifesto is practically the same wording as was used by the Bolsheviks for their International Communist Congress.

THE COMMUNIST ABSORBS THE SOCIALIST PARTY

NATURALLY the Communist Party has bored its revolutionary points into the Socialist Party. They managed to split the Socialists, for the so-called Left Wing of the Socialist Party is now the Communist Party, which specifically states that it does not intend to capture the bourgeois parliamentary state, but to conquer and destroy, and that the final objective, mass action, is the medium intended to be used in the conquest and destruction of the bourgeois state to annihilate the parliamentary state, and introduce a revolutionary dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The Left Wing Socialists declared themselves when they issued a call for a convention held in Chicago, September 1, 1919, to organize a Communist Party. An effort was made at a convention of the Socialist Party of America in Chicago, August 30, 1919, to harmonize differences. Their first plan in harmonious endeavor was to refuse admission to

their convention to members of the Left Wing, on the ground that the latter intended to capture it. At the Communist Convention of Left Wing Socialists on September 1, 1919, 129 delegates, representing 55,000 members, attended. Extensive Communist propaganda followed, including the establishment of a paper, "The Communist."

There is no legislation at present which can reach an American citizen who is discontented with our system of American Government, nor is it necessary. The dangerous fact to us is that the Communist Party of America is actually affiliated and adheres to the teaching program and tactics of the 3d Internationale. Consider what this means.

The first congress of the Communist Nationale held March 6, 1919, in Moscow, subscribed to by Trotzky and Lenine, adopted the following:

"This makes necessary the disarming of the bourgeoisie at the proper time, the arming of the laborer, and the formation of a communist army as the protectors of the rules of the proletariat and the inviolability of the social structure."

When we realize that each member of the Communist Party of America pledges himself to the principles above, set forth, deportation of men and women bound to such a theory is a very mild reformatory sentence.

HAVE THE "REDS" BETRAYED LABOR?

IF I were asked whether the American Federation of Labor had been betrayed by the "Reds," I should refer the inquiry to the manifesto and constitution of the Communist Party of America, in which, under the heading, "Revolutionary Construction," the following paragraph appears:

"But the American Federation of Labor, as a whole, is hopelessly reactionary. At its recent convention the A. F. of L. approved the Versailles Peace Treaty and the League of Nations, and refused to declare its solidarity with Soviet Russia. It did not even protest the blockade of Russia and Hungary! This convention, moreover, did all in its power to break radical unions. The A. F. of L. is united with the Government, securing a privileged status in the governing system of State Capitalism. A Labor Party is being organized—much more conservative than the British Labor Party."

It has been inferred by the "Reds" that the United States Government, by arresting and deporting them, is returning to the autocracy of Czardom, adopting the system that created the severity of Siberian banishment. My reply to such charges is, that in our determination to maintain our government we are treating our alien enemies with extreme consideration. To deny them the privilege of remaining in a country which they have openly deplored as an unenlightened community, unfit for those who prefer the privileges of Bolshevism, should be no hardship. It strikes me as an odd form of reasoning that these Russian Bolsheviks who extol the Bolshevik rule, should be so unwilling to return to Russia. The nationality of most of the alien "Reds" is Russian and German. There is almost no other nationality represented among them.

It has been impossible in so short a space to review the entire menace of the internal revolution in this country as I know it, but this may serve to arouse the American citizen to its reality, its danger, and the great need of united effort to stamp it out, under our feet, if needs be. It is being done. The Department of Justice will pursue the attack of these "Reds" upon the Government of the United States with vigilance, and no alien, advocating the overthrow of existing law and order in this country, shall escape arrest and prompt deportation.

It is my belief that while they have stirred discontent in our midst, while they have caused irritating strikes, and while they have infected our social ideas with the disease of their own minds and their unclean morals, we can get rid of them! and not until we have done so shall we have removed the menace of Bolshevism for good.

NEPTUNE'S INFLUENCE UPON US

AN ASTROLOGER'S EXPLANATION OF THE NEW INTEREST IN ALTRUISTIC THEORIES AND PSYCHIC PHENOMENA

(Director Astrological Research Society)

BY FRANK THEODORE ALLEN

Recently a hysteria of fear agitated thousands of good people, due to a "prophecy"—based on a conjunction of planets—that the world would come to an end in December.

Some betook themselves to high mountains, others bought miniature arks and invested in rafts. This one phase of the effect of unscientific deductions, accredited to students of astrological science, is ascribed to planatory conditions and the causes of recent world-disturbances.

To ascertain what was the astrological viewpoint, THE FORUM requested Frank T. Allen, a man who has devoted twenty-two years of his life to the study of astrology, to give an interpretation of this astrological phenomena in their relation to human emotions and human events.

THAT the human race as a whole has in recent times been influenced by or subjected to some forces or influences that differ radically from those that have chiefly governed it in previous centuries will doubtless be admitted by all thoughtful observers and students of history and current events.

That those forces which appear to sway so many of the more active, influential and pioneering members of the race in different epochs are apparently extraneous to and

exert their influence without any conscious volition, choice or clear understanding of their character, trend and ultimate effect, is also quite evident.

Students of history and of human psychology are challenged to account for or assign an adequate and sensible cause for those distinct phases of thought and emotion which so often have simultaneously so dominated large numbers of humans at diverse places as to cause certain periods to stand out in strong relief as distinct epochs or stages in human evolution.

The writer sincerely believes and seriously maintains that the planets of the Solar System are the chief sources, reservoirs, and transmitters of the subtle and etheric essences, waves or vibrations that inspire or drive, instruct or chasten, enthuse or depress the major portions of humanity at all important epochs, and in fact continuously and universally, without exception or cessation.

While the unprecedented number of violent and untimely deaths incident to the war may possibly be held to account for the phenomenal interest in spirit communication that has become so very evident in recent years, the actual fact is that a widespread interest in psychic phenomena has been growing apace for many years, hence was in no way caused by the war or its terrible human toll.

Within these limits it is not feasible to offer any adequate explanation and defense of the theory of astral influence. Readers will therefore excuse the writer if some of his statements appear arbitrary and dogmatic. His aim is to show how the influences that astrological students have found to be peculiar to Neptune have been becoming progressively more potent and widespread in recent years. He will then present his version of what may be expected to result from the forthcoming positions and aspects of that distant planet.

NEPTUNE'S CHARACTER AND INFLUENCE

IT IS very significant that at the time of its discovery, in 1846, Neptune was in very close conjunction with Saturn. In most respects Saturn is the very antithesis of

Neptune; Saturn being cold, calculating and conservative, aristocratic, autocratic, conventional, exclusive and contractive, whereas Neptune is fraternal, artless, ingenuous, democratic, arcadian and Bohemian. Saturn is distinctively the planet of worldly power and dominion, and the discovery of Neptune when in close conjunction with Saturn may quite fairly be accepted or construed as a symbolic warning that the throne and dominion of that worldly wise and selfish monarch — Mammon — was to be challenged and finally overthrown by the advancing hosts of democracy, fraternity and human brotherhood that are symbolized and inspired by the newly discovered Neptune.

If we concede the theory that each degree of the Zodiac corresponds to a distinct note or chord of the Cosmic Harp, with each planet expressing its own distinctive vibrations or methods of twanging the many strings of that harp, and that certain individuals and nations, things, elements and places, are so conditioned as to be especially susceptible to the vibrations produced or stimulated when certain degrees or combinations of degrees happen to fall under strong aspects of the planetary bodies, we shall then have obtained a fairly sensible conception of the theory of zodiacal and planetary influence.

Of course the influence of Neptune upon the earth and its inhabitants was not contingent upon his discovery, nevertheless there has certainly been a far more pronounced and a constantly increasing manifestation of the distinctive influence of this planet ever since its physical discovery. The same is true of Uranus who was discovered in 1781. There is no doubt but that the constantly increasing influence of those two unknown planets was in a very large measure the cause of astrology's decline in the centuries prior to their discovery.

By calculating the zodiacal positions of Neptune, prior to his discovery, the students of astrology were able to learn much about the nature of his influence upon individuals.

PRESIDENT WILSON, A NEPTUNIAN FAVORITE

PRESIDENT Wilson was born when no less than six of the nine planetary bodies were favorably aspected with Neptune, namely, the Sun, Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars and Saturn. Small wonder that he stands out so conspicuously as the world champion of democracy, idealism and altruism.

During most of the nine months before the starting of the war Mars, near to his perigee and twice becoming stationary, was transiting close to and in the same sign with Neptune and in that section of the ambient which corresponds to the house of secret conspiracies and self-undoing in the German kaiser's nativity. On the very day that the fateful ultimatum was served upon the Serbian authorities there was a New Moon which at the latitude and longitude of Belgrade ocured as the Sun, Moon, Mercury and Neptune were all near together and rising in the house of life. Coincident with the beginning of the war Neptune began his fourteen-year transit of the sign of royalty. During the fourteen years before the war Neptune had been transiting the sign of the masses, or the "Common People," one very important effect of which was to arouse a widespread interest among the masses and serving classes in socialistic and utopian ideals. This was especially evident throughout Europe, emphatically so in Russia, so that those in royal circles welcomed the war as a means of diverting the thoughts of the people from their projected reforms. It was when the cold and treacherous Saturn joined Neptune in the royal sign in 1917-18 that the aristocratic royalty of Europe began definitely to disintegrate. Singularly it was when the joyous and buoyant Jupiter joined Neptune in the royal sign in 1919 that the remaining and essentially democratic kings, princes and notables of Europe began to indulge in public activities, ceremonials, journeys, missions and visits of a gratifying and beneficial character.

A REVIVAL OF SPIRITISM AND ALTRUISM

THROUGHOUT the war, and more especially since the signing of the armistice, there has been an unprece-

dented interest in psychic phenomena, mediumship and the receiving of messages from the spirits of those who have died. Another notable feature of human interest has been the ministering to the needs of the suffering and unfortunate. Still another has been the deep and steadily growing recognition of the essential brotherhood of the natives of all climes, races and nations; the efforts to establish the League of Nations being but one of the more conspicuous evidences of the great wave of human fraternity that has been so effectively breaking down the old barriers by which humans have been kept in separate groups and taught to fear, despise, misunderstand and impose upon those of other groups and nations.

The churches and religious institutions have, of late, been coming very strongly under the influence of Neptune, the ultimate effects of which can scarcely be conjectured and are certainly not realized by those in the churches who are most zealous advocates of the changes and reforms now under way or contemplated. That which Neptune represents is akin to the manna which was provided for the Israelites. It is of a nature that cannot be preserved or contained in institutions. It must be fresh and spontaneous, artless, creedless and cannot function as an adjunct to or under the direction of human institutions. It is the new wine that Jesus warned his followers could not safely be put into old bottles. However, it is one of the most healthy signs of the times that not only is there now evidenced vastly more of a genuinely fraternal spirit between the different sects, but in many ways there is manifested a far more democratic spirit than has hitherto been the rule with the churches and their institutions

HOW NEPTUNE INFLUENCES PEOPLE

THOSE who are clearly under the dominion of Neptune are also unable to recognize the right of human codes, rules, systems and conventions to dictate their conduct. Like their Uranian brethren they instinctively feel and reverence a higher and spiritual code, but their manner of manifesting their disregard is strikingly different. Instead of

being brusque, strong, positive and stubbornly rebellious they are almost abnormally negative, receptive, psychic and mediumistic. Instead of being stoutly insistent upon the right of personal freedom and liberty in thought and action they are all too prone to yield to and acquiesce in the claims and dicta of almost any assertive and positive-minded individual with whom they may come into contact.

(Let it be clearly born in mind that the above description applies only to the relatively Simon-pure types of Neptune. Absolutely pure specimens under any planetary influence cannot be found, because in every instance all the planets and each of the signs of the Zodiac exert some measure of influence upon the life and character. Usually the influence of one planet will stand out quite conspicuously, though often two or more compete for dominion, making correct interpretation very difficult.)

The tone and quality, or relative purity, of Neptune's influence, as that of each of the other planets, is subject to an infinite variety of combinations and modifications, due to sign and house position, aspects, etc. Neptune's distinguishing characteristics are democracy, altruism and idealism. The Neptunians are dreamers and visionaries and are usually very impractical and illogical. To be practical and logical, or sane and sensible, requires a strong influx of the Saturnine elements. To have Saturn strong enough to insure a logical, balanced and judicial mind, together with sufficient of the Neptune essence to keep the Saturnine ambition and selfishness subservient to the Neptunian idealism is an extremely rare combination. Woodrow Wilson is the nearest approximation, or most conspicuous example, of this rare blending of opposites we know of at present. The late Count Leo Tolstoy was a fairly good representative of this harmonious admixture.

Neptunians are distinguished for their unselfishness, or rather their selflessness. Platonic love and idealistic unions in which no thought of sex enters are characteristic of Neptune's influence. Marriage to cripples or those in need of personal ministrations and who are unable to ful-

fill the usual functions of the marriage relation are a frequent result of Neptune being a prominent factor in that section of the horoscope known as the house of marriage. Renunciation, self-effacement and sacrifice are peculiarly Neptunian instincts. Communism, socialism, anarchism and various other utopian concepts and projects are invariably conceived and championed by persons born under a strong influx of Neptunian vibrations.

In the realms of art, music, poetry and highly imaginative or inspirational and romantic literature the influence of Neptune is always found to be a very conspicuous factor. When Neptune is found to be strongly involved with the mental signifiers the natives are emotional, imaginative, visionary, fanciful, inspirational, fertile and transcendental. Those are the writers, artists, poets and musicians who seem to receive inspiration direct from the vast spiritual storehouses out of which proceeds all that is new, unique and unusual.

WHAT NEPTUNIANS ARE NOTED FOR

NEPTUNIANS are noted for their psychic receptivity, or ability to establish contacts with and to perceive and translate that which is beyond the ken of those who are limited to the five physical senses. They revel in all that is vibrant with life or spirit. They do not pick and choose, make no attempt to separate the sheep from the goats or to label men and women as good or bad. They are very much like the placid water of a lake which will reflect the terrific flashes of lightning and the threatening awe of the black thunder-clouds with the same fidelity that it will the charm and beauty of a glorious sunset. The Neptunian influence of itself is rather un-moral then im-moral. But when it predominates in a nativity wherein the factors that make for any kind of viciousness or abnormal selfishness, tricky schemings or any excess of evil propensities, then there is quite certain to result phases of irresponsibility and moral worthlessness, or exaggerated debauchery, sybaritic excesses or lewd indulgences that defy classification, baffle comprehension. No other planet produces such a

liability to succumb to the lure of narcotics or indulge in all sorts of weird, whimsical notions and fancies.

The chief feature of identity in all the peculiarities ascribed to Neptune is that they are all allied to spirit or vapor, or exhibit characteristics that are essentially formless or gaseous, ethereal, imponderable and lacking the qualities of stability, solidity and concreteness. The expansiveness of gas corresponds to the extravagant conceits, baloon-like ambitions and mushroom achievements of those under the mental illusions peculiar to Neptune.

During the year 1919, Jupiter overtook Neptune and those two planets have ever since been transiting quite near together. Coincident with this there has been a very pronounced and widespread increase of interest in occult and psychic matters and the attendance at meetings, services and lectures under the auspices of occultists, spiritualists, theosophists, Christian scientists, etc., has been unprecedented and the membership of those organizations has been growing by leaps and bounds. Meanwhile there have been many evidences of an increasing disposition to modify many of their exclusive and sectarian peculiarities on the part of the leaders of the orthodox sects.

AN EXTREMELY RARE ASTRAL PHENOMENON COMING

THROUGHOUT the early half of 1920 Jupiter and Neptune will continue near together and from the last week of February until the first week of May they will continuously remain within less than one degree of each other. This is an exceedingly rare phenomenon, and happens to coincide with another quite as unusual a planetary configuration, the violent and disastrous possibilities of which may crowd out and obliterate most of the normal results that should follow the Jupiter-Neptune conjunction. The coincident phenomenon will be the opposition of Saturn and Uranus which will continue very close from March to July. Those planets have passed in opposition three times since the summer of 1918, each occurrence precipitating new and startling upheavals and resulting in revolutionary activities, rebellion, protests, strikes, race

wars, crime waves, etc. The three previous recent oppositions of Saturn and Uranus were of brief duration, yet terrific in their effects. What will result from their long continuance at almost exact opposition? Knowing the inherent attributes of those planets we can form a fairly accurate conjecture of the nature of the effects, but it is humanly impossible to correctly estimate the measure and proportions of the upheavals certain to eventuate. And on this occasion we are charged with the task of considering the probable results of the forthcoming conjunction of Jupiter and Neptune.

ITS PROBABLE EFFECTS UPON HUMANITY

THERE are certain features in which the effects or nature of Jupiter and Neptune are somewhat similar, therefore their close conjunction will quite certainly result in a more or less pronounced accentuation of those mutual qualities. Jupiter exerts a buoyant, expansive, cheerful and optimistic influence, giving rise to hope, confidence, good cheer and a philosophical attitude, Neptune, being gaseous or spiritual, is naturally buoyant and spacious or expansive. But while Jupiter is devout, religious and philanthropic Neptune is naively comradic, democratic and unaffected. In certain respects the attributes of Jupiter and Neptune are strikingly different and contrasted. Jupiter exerts a mild, mellowing and moderating influence and is invariably disposed to be a reconciling and temperate influence, whereas Neptune is almost always an extremist, neither knowing nor recognizing limits or bounds.

We can only conjecture the probable result upon humanity as a whole of the long continued close conjunction of Jupiter and Uranus in the spring of this year. Undoubtedly all persons and institutions that are distinctively responsive to the Jupiter vibrations will be affected to a greater or less degree. There are scientific reasons that cannot be explained here for the writer's belief that in the case of such a conjunction as this that the outermost planet will exert the most effective and lasting influence. Therefore Neptune will act upon and cause the churches,

religious institutions and persons to amend, alter and expand their codes, systems and boundaries, making them far more democratic and less exclusive than they have been heretofore. And, of course, there will be a still more phenomenal increase of interest in occult and metaphysical matters and a corresponding growth in the membership of the new cults and isms that are the direct outcome of the steadily advancing influence of Neptune in modern times.

As this conjunction coincides so closely with the long continued opposition of the conservative Saturn and the revolutionary Uranus it may be that that drastic and potentially disruptive aspect will create havoc and woes which the increase of idealism and altruism resulting from the Jupiter-Neptune conjunction will be promptly moved to alleviate. Or possibly there will be evolved some gigantic project for assauging the world-wide miseries that are gnawing at the vitals of humanity as a result of the war. Certainly this phenomenal aspect promises to establish very effectual connections between the world of humanity and the spiritual storehouses of the Cosmos. Is it not reasonable to conclude that if the merely incidental and transient conjunctions of Neptune with the poetic, musical and sentimental Venus at their births conferred the elements of remarkable genius upon such men as Coleridge, Keats and Rubinstein, that the forthcoming long continued conjunction of the humane, merciful and philanthropic Jupiter with the idealistic, altruistic and fraternal Neptune will inspire the leaders of the various nations to agree upon some worthy and comprehensive scheme for the alleviation of the ills from which the world of humanity is suffering so bitterly and hopelessly?

BEWARE THE IDES OF MARCH!

THROUGHOUT the month of March, though with extreme intensity during the middle of the month, Mars will be at and close to his apparently stationary position which happens to fall at the exact square aspect to

the conjoined Jupiter and Neptune. This is also a very unusual phenomenon as well as constituting a really dangerous combination. As we contemplate the possibilities of this multiplication of heating, expansive and explosive potentialities we are constrained to repeat the Shakespearian admonition: "Beware the ides of March!" The adverse aspect of Mars and Neptune is one that often gives rise to passionate extravagances and neurotic emotionalism, while the square of Mars and Jupiter is provocative of boisterous excitability, waste, extravagance, insolence, folly and irreligion. These aspects are very likely to result in violent atmospheric disturbances, electrical storms and other magnetic, fiery or explosive occurrences. The dates during March when such phenomena will most likely be emphasized are: the 2d, 8th, 16th, 22d, and the 29th.

It may be that the heating and expansive effects of the Mars-Jupiter-Neptune combination will cause a pronounced loosening up of the purse-strings and thus facilitate the efforts of those disposed to deal generously with the world-problems and woes which will then most likely be crying out for help more insistently than ever before. But the aspect in itself is rather one that makes for waste, destruction and extravagance.

What can be the reason for, or meaning and significance of, such a truly astounding repetition of coincidences in the position of Neptune as has been referred to? Such occurrences cannot be dismissed as accidental or due to merely capricious circumstances. Nor is there any room for supposing that the times for any of those occurrences were purposely selected by persons having a predilection for astrology. We are here confronted with the most positive and unequivocal evidences of LAW! Here is indubitable proof that the heavens do indeed rule over the earth and its inhabitants, and that the Architect of the Universe has eternally inscribed upon the scroll of the heavens His messages, warnings, instruction and guidance for the enlightenment and comfort of the human race.

WHAT POINDEXTER STANDS FOR

THE PRINCIPLES AND PERSONALITY OF THE SENATOR FROM WASHINGTON

By WILLIAM DE WAGSTAFFE

“**A**MERICAN government free from class or foreign control.” In eight words, as required by the law of South Dakota, Senator Miles Poindexter filed this declaration of policy in his candidacy for the Presidency. The usual formulas that surround the launching of a new candidate for President of the United States were not discernible in the Poindexter launching. He has slipped from the Presidential Building Yard of Presidents, the United States Senate, into a definite course. His actual speed is no political secret, it is a speed intensified by national issues that can be gauged by all observers. He established a precedent for future aspirants to the Presidency by announcing his own candidacy, setting forth his own political and economic principles, so that they could be discussed and thoroughly understood by the people of the country. It was courageous of him, for, as one of his supporters expressed it “He laid himself open to the certain accusation, by the small souls, of being egotistical and having an undue desire for political advancement,” but he sustained the governing principle of his character in doing so.

If his desire for political advancement were a part of his political intelligence alone, he would have chosen more conventional methods. It was not necessary for him to announce his own candidacy. He could easily have made his appeal to the country in the usual form, through an organization that presented him to the people. One must take into consideration the reason that he did not do so. There is a blaze of patriotic fire in the man that scorns the beaten paths. He is an up-standing, pioneer type, phys-

ically one generation removed from the long-armed, loose-jointed, big-fisted woodsman; three generations removed from the mental calibre of Lincoln. His mind is like a steel drill, he speaks with the voice of the man who is not easily interrupted, he looks like a man of alert sentiment. What a man looks like is still incomprehensively associated with what he is, in spite of the fact that many voters are near-sighted. Poindexter will lose no support on account of his appearance, his ideas, or his record. The most vulnerable feature of his candidacy is the one just mentioned, that he goes before the people, self-announced, for the highest office in the gift of the Nation, and that can be disposed of as one's acquaintance with him improves.

THE IMPULSE BEHIND HIS AMBITION

CRITICAL times, new problems, national and international, a confidence in the principles he declares, and above all a deep sense of the personal responsibility which hangs on those principles when attached to the office of President of the United States impel him. Political advancement does not describe his ambition, does not explain the unprecedented position he has taken in going before the people self-announced as a Presidential candidate. He regards his right to submit a claim to the American privilege, that of election, as an individual right. In this he lifts the dignity of the office-seeker out of the scheming and petty restrictions of political trickery. He rises before the great audience of the nation with a calm assurance, a purity of statesmanship, a blaze of patriotism in him, and says:

"I beg to announce my candidacy for the Republican nomination of the Presidency in 1920."

It is the surprising confidence, and his quiet faith in the ideals he announces (not as his own, but as those of all Americans), that may seize the imagination and reason of the national audience.

A few months from now, and the significance of Poindexter's independent position on the rostrum of Presidential candidates will unfold. There are one or two sus-

taining features of this unusual position he has taken as a Republican candidate for the people. For example, in spite of the Presidential brew that abounds in the Senate, some of his associates in that body are his staunch supporters. Senator Harding, himself a candidate, declared in a public speech that Senator Poindexter was his personal choice for President. He has the unanimous respect of Congress as a man and as a partisan fighter.

I have often seen, when his tall figure rises up on the floor of the Senate Chamber, like the periscope of a submarine, the Democratic members stiffen as they prepared for the explosion that follows.

He is always armed, his ammunition is charged with facts, and the hidden forces of national thought in the man leave the air of the Chamber tense. He is a man to be wary of in a debate, because he has a surprising vigor of attack, an unsuspected passion of patriotic principle unalloyed with political metal.

Senator Poindexter was born in Tennessee, was educated in Virginia, and has been a citizen of the State of Washington since 1891. He went there immediately after his graduation from the Washington and Lee University. He is fifty-two years old. A year after he settled in the State of Washington he became Assistant Prosecuting Attorney in Walla Walla county, serving in the same capacity, from 1898 to 1904, in Spokane county. After election as a Judge to the Superior Court, in 1908 he was sent to Congress.

OPPOSED TO SPECIAL-CLASS CONTROL

BY BIRTHRIGHT, education and experience, he combines the sub-soil of Southern tradition with the expanding impressions of the Great West. His youth was molded in the national cradle of American aristocracy, his young manhood in the free, open, independent atmosphere of the State of Washington, where men can see the sky and inhale Americanism. In his democratic association as well as in the alliances of his heart, Senator Poindexter favors no one class above another. The first de-

claration in his pledges to the people, when announcing his candidacy, said:

"This government was founded on the principles that no special class should control it."

In reviewing these declarations one can trace the impulses of the man himself, for he stands alone, unhampered by any political initiative except the inspiration that has always sustained the Republican Party which he has always served.

Briefly, he reveals that the United States Government should be restricted to the protection and welfare of the American people, and that the people themselves should control that government. In this relation he pledges himself as follows:

"The absolute security of every man under the law in his personal property; * * * the safeguarding of the general welfare of our people by keeping the Government at all times under their own control, both as against any special class at home, and as against any foreign power or combination of powers; * * * and the active use by the Government, in the sphere of its action, of the full powers of the Nation to protect every citizen, of whatever station he may be, both at home or in a foreign land, or on the sea, from unlawful injury to his person or his property by a special class, or by any foreign power."

Scanning the further duties of the Government, he declares his position on the Mexican issue as follows:

"Every necessary agency of the Government should be used to give complete protection to the lives and lawful rights of American citizens in Mexico; and the international duties we have assumed as to that country, by reason of our proximity, and as incidental to the Monroe Doctrine, should be at once performed. The launching and withdrawing, without definite purpose or result, of military expeditions to Vera Cruz and other portions of Mexico, also as at Archangel and other portions of the world, are criminal in their reckless disregard of life and national treasure expended without the possibility of any benefits whatever."

HIS HATRED OF COMMUNISM

HIS KNOWLEDGE of Communism, and his hatred of it, is stimulating. He has the Southerner's impatience with the alien slacker, the Westerner's irritation in dealing with it. He declares his position before the people on this issue fearlessly:

"Revolutionary communism, by whatever name it may be called, must be met and put down wherever it appears, as subversive of liberty. There can be no compromise with anarchy. * * * The attempt of certain radical labor leaders to coerce Congress to enact legislations proposed by them, if successful, would be government by a class as in Russia, but not 'by the people,' as in the United States. The threat to tie up transportation until the railroads are nationalized and delivered to the control of the employees, if successful, would be government by terror, for a special class.

"This nation cannot be ruled by capital and it cannot be ruled by labor. Both capital and labor must be subject to the rule of the people. The Government must be supreme.

"The just claims of labor should be recognized and every opportunity should be given to laboring men and their families for comfort and happiness. The laboring man, above all others, is benefited by the preservation of law and order, the security of life, person and property against violence and arbitrary rule. But the effort of any labor leader to put labor in control of the government, by means of industrial blockade, economic pressure, intimidation of violence, or so-called direct action, cannot be tolerated, any more than such an effort on the part of combined capital would be tolerated. Either would violate the cardinal principles of free government.

"Communism is inconsistent with the vested right of a laborer to the wages of his labor. The right to work, to join or not to join a union, and to accumulate, or to use, as one sees fit, and to transmit to his children the wages of his work, is an essential part of 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.'

"These essential elements of liberty are menaced by revolutionary doctrines. This revolutionary movement is international in its scope and purpose. It has received powerful encouragement from the Administration. Many of its advocates have occupied high place in the government. Instead of encouraging a class dictatorship it is the business of the Government to preserve the ordered liberty of the people, and to protect by every means in its power the institutions on which it is founded. Defenders and advocates of those who have been convicted by due process of law of crimes of violence, committed in pursuance of a revolutionary and communistic program, should be dismissed from the government service."

ERRORS OF A DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION

FOLLOWING the broad lines rather than the closer details which have led up to the national issues which Senator Poindexter feels will confront the next President of the United States, he takes this unusual view of America's place on the new map.

He says:

"The process of making a 'supreme sacrifice' of America, and of 'joining our fortunes with the fortunes of men everywhere' should be stopped. The opposite and ancient policy of our fathers must be restored—of saving instead of sacrificing our great institutions, and of promoting in every honorable way the interests of our people. The process of internationalizing our fortunes must be reversed, and the separate interests of this Nation, with due regard to the rights of others, must be cherished again."

It is expected that a Republican candidate will disagree with the acts of a Democratic Administration. Senator Poindexter has, since the election of President Wilson, taken that position, although standing fairly behind the President after our declaration of war with Germany. In the unraveling of our war emergencies there have been more or less indefinite accusations, which have been revealed by Congressional Investigating Committees. While Senator Poindexter, urging his own candidacy for President, has full knowledge of all these details, these errors of the Administration as defined by the Republicans, he groups only the most vital faults of the Democratic Administration among his declarations to the people.

I quote the most significant of these, for they are written by the Senator himself, and bear the imprint of his own characteristic expression:

"America, in her mighty separate station which the fathers gave her, leader and champion of the new world, the friend of the old, must preserve her sovereign independence, as the one secure seat and refuge of genuine liberty.

"Extravagancies produced by war, and governmental waste, must give way to a wise economy. Direct taxes upon industry and consumptions should be reduced and supplemented by increased duties upon imports, and surplus revenues derived therefrom should be expended in a liberal extension of land reclamation and internal improvement.

"Radio communication between the United States and the rest of the world should be under American control; and full co-operation by the Navy Department towards that end should be assured.

"An ample merchant marine under the American flag is essential to national prosperity. The merchant service and the fisheries afford a training school for seamen; and every facility for the development of these great essentials of national defense should be provided.

"I favor an extensive system of national roads—built on approved engineering principles, located with a view to military defense as well as civil and commercial use, co-ordinated with

existing highways so as to form a national as well as local system.

"Peace with Germany should be declared at once.

"The Peace Treaty should be stripped of the extraneous incumbrances which have been placed upon it; and which have so long delayed it, and the permanent burdens which it is proposed to place upon the United States in the conduct of European affairs should be at once rejected.

"Every American soldier, except those engaged in diplomatic or other peaceful service, should be at once withdrawn from Europe and the continent of Asia; and the work of recruiting and transporting military forces of the United States for service in Siberia and Germany, and the plans being made for sending an American army to Turkey should be at once suppressed. The resources of our people and the activities of their government should be devoted to their own interests instead of to those of foreign nations.

"The proposal which has been recently presented to the American people that the United States should become a trustee for the world should be denounced as destructive of liberty and ruinous to the American people, as well as injurious to the peace and safety of the world.

"The Monroe Doctrine should be re-established in its full vigor; and the participation which it is proposed to give Europe in the control of American affairs should be denied.

"The recent assumption by certain officials of our government of jurisdiction of the settlement of foreign controversies, which are of remote concern to us, has engendered racial animosities against the United States. We should cease officious meddling with other people's affairs. The ancient American doctrine of confining our participation in governmental matters to the American continent, while we stand as a friendly neutral to all nations with which we are at peace, should be restored.

"The ancient policy under which we have enjoyed peace and prosperity, and attained greatness, with honest friendship and intimate social and commercial intercourse with the rest of the world, should be re-established.

"There is no 'royal road' to happiness, either in governmental or personal affairs. Success must come from struggle and 'eternal vigilance.' It is a mistake to assume that a remedy can be found for all the ills of mankind. Certain fundamental truths of government have been evolved by experience and are fixed as the foundations of our institutions. To them we must adhere, and working upon that basis, in a healthy evolution, and not by revolution, we can adapt our laws and administration to the needs of the people as conditions develop; cleaving to the ancient principles of the Constitution. By so doing we shall preserve for ourselves and our posterity that happy state which we have attained among the nations of the earth."

HIS PATRIOTISM AND ALL-'ROUND FITNESS

THESE are the brain and sinew of Poindexter's claim as a Presidential candidate for the Republican Party. Poindexter has the strength and independence to stand

up before the national audience and declare his promises alone, because they are supported by the unwritten laws of American character, that have seeped from that immortal document of liberty, the Constitution, into the hearts of the people. His experience as legislator includes a complete knowledge of our national affairs. During his service in the House and the Senate in Washington, he has been active on committees of the highest importance, particularly on Naval affairs, Interstate Commerce and the Judiciary. It is a matter of record that he was the first to begin war upon Bolshevism when, in most uncompromising terms, he defied the organizations in Seattle which threatened a strike that would have tied up war-time industry unless Mooney were unconditionally released from imprisonment in San Francisco. He was the first to begin the fight against the League of Nations on the ground that it threatened the preservation of American independence. It was Senator Poindexter who compelled Attorney-General Palmer to begin prosecutions against the Reds in various parts of the country. His attacks upon the Administration by exposure of documents showed that aid and comfort had been given the Bolshevik element not only in Russia, but in America, from high places in Washington.

The physical fitness of a man to endure the terrific speed and burden of standing in the glare of public opinion, of being in the test-room of the nation during his campaign, requires exceptional vitality, an equipment of health and strength that will not break down. In this respect Senator Poindexter is fortunate. He is indefatigable, alert with enthusiasm and knowledge, and ablaze with the patriotism of an American who is of no class, but a citizen who has demonstrated his desire to serve all classes.

THE LURE OF FRENZIED FINANCE

TREMENDOUS WORLD-WIDE SOCIAL DISORDERS RESULTING

By FRANK A. VANDERLIP

(Chairman American International Corporation, former President National City Bank)

Mr. Vanderlip explains the principles of banking upon which credit, or inflation, is based, and how the inflation of frenzied finance raises prices and keeps on raising them, working great social injustices which breed radicalism.

To avert an inevitable crash, Mr. Vanderlip believes "we should stop expansion now," and not go another inch toward further dangerous inflation. We must "reduce credits and put the brake on interest rates."

VERY MUCH of the industrial unrest is directly attributable to the rise in prices, to the difficulty that men experience in living on their wages, to their activity in striking to bring their wages up with the rising level in prices. These rising prices have largely led to extravagance. It may seem curious that rising prices should lead to extravagance, but, in a period of rising prices, there are great profits made by people who are handling commodities and great and easy profits lead to extravagance. I think the rising prices are very largely the cause of the radicalism of thought that we are now experiencing all through the world's social structure. There has been a terrible maladjustment of the social order—a vast social injustice has resulted. People with fixed incomes have been able only to buy a half or a third of what they formerly could command.

To illustrate what these rising prices mean to a thrifty person:

Suppose any one of us, eighteen years ago, had had, let us say, a \$1000 and had debated whether to buy goods with that money or whether it would be wiser to put that money at interest and let it accumulate to buy more and better things. Suppose one decided on the immediate sacrifice, decided to go without the things that he could buy and put his money in a savings bank to accumulate at compound interest. In eighteen years his money would have doubled. The \$1000 that he put in eighteen years ago, he could draw out today with another \$1000 of accumulated interest. Now, that looks good, but let us see how good it is. Gauged by the price index, that is, the average of 200 or 300 articles weighted, so as to show really a figure that corresponds to the general value of the things that we want to ordinarily buy, the advance in the price index would show that this would be the result: we could have bought a certain number of a group of things for \$1000 at the start; now we have let our fund accumulate until we have got our original \$1000 and another \$1000 of interest. We now go out to buy the things that for eighteen years we went without, and we find that we need to add another \$1000, fresh money, to what we saved and what we accumulated, to buy the identical things we could have bought on the start. It now takes \$3000 to buy the identical things we could have bought for \$1000. There is an illustration for the social injustice of rising prices. Just that illustration applies to every insurance policy which has been paid for in years back, with money that had a large purchasing power and which will be paid back in money that has a very small purchasing power. It applies to every bond, every security that calls for the payment of money. An investor, measured in his command over things, has not been able to keep up, even with all of his interest accumulation, and for a period of time he finds he has less command with the accumulation and the original principal, very less much command of goods than he had originally.

CAUSES OF WORLD-WIDE INFLATION

THESE rising prices are world-wide and universal. Everything has risen. Suppose some of us were on a raft alongside a pier, and each one was told to observe the height of a particular pile in that pier above our raft and one of us said pretty soon: "Why, that pier is a foot taller — my pile is a foot higher than it was;" somebody else said: "So is the one I am observing," and everyone gives the same testimony. Well, we would not think under those circumstances that the pile has been rising, we would think that our raft has been settling, and that is what has been happening. Now what are the causes of this world-wide inflation which is having such a profound effect on our whole social order? I will try to explain it. I am going to start far back in history, but I am not going to tell about wampum and shells being used for money, but about the birth of the modern deposit system of banking.

HOW BANKING STARTED

WE FIRST had, after the days of barter were over, coined money but no banks. But men accumulated more of this coined money than was safe in their own homes, and they sought a safety-deposit place for it, somebody with a strong box. The person in that primitive time was the goldsmith. The goldsmith had a strong box and the goldsmith was induced to receive deposits from one and another of coin and to give a receipt, promising to return the coin to the person who held the receipt. People depositing their money in that way found when they wanted to make a payment they could best make that payment by writing an order on the goldsmith. Not going there and getting the physical gold, but simply writing an order that gave some other person the right to go and get the physical gold if he wanted to; and so there came an order of society where there were considerable deposits of gold with these goldsmiths and the goldsmith's receipts were in circulation, being used more or less as money. Up to this moment the goldsmith had just as much gold locked up in his strong box as he had given out receipts for gold.

One day a sailing boat with a cargo of rugs arrived, let us say, and there were two wealthy experienced merchants in the town who were going to bid at auction for those rugs, and there was another young merchant, rather an adventurous young merchant, doing a good business and having a good character, but not having accumulated very much free gold up to the present time, and he wanted to bid for the rugs, but he hadn't the money. So he thought and thought and thought and he finally made an invention. He went to the goldsmith and he said: "Here, you have got these orders on you for gold in large numbers. They are passing around from hand to hand and only a few are presented any day. When you write an order on yourself for gold, that doesn't mean that somebody comes in and gets the gold. Let me borrow from you an order on yourself for gold. If anybody does come for gold, of course you will have to pay the gold, but the probability is that nobody will come for the gold but will be better satisfied with this order. I want to pay for these rugs, but the man who gets the order for gold will probably keep it in just this form. If it were paid to him in gold he would probably hunt up a goldsmith and deposit it again. I want you to lend me an order on yourself for gold." The goldsmith did that and the modern deposit banking was born.

Now recognize this effect; instead of having two bidders at the auction, there were three, and higher prices resulted, because a new man came in the field with buying ability. When the goldsmith loaned that order on himself, when he gave that new man the ability to purchase along with the men who had their gold on deposit, he created an element of price-making that tended to and undoubtedly did put up prices. He apparently was loaning a piece of paper, getting interest on it, and found it was perfectly safe to do it. He went on with the plan. He kept putting out more paper and more paper. It was easy to go to him and borrow. He had always there a gold base. Let us picture that gold in his strong box as a cube—and let us pile on that cube other cubes, representing the orders that

were given out for gold. They came to exceed several times the amount of gold that he had. Everything went all right until some day there was either a shock of confidence or there was gold wanted to take to other countries to buy goods, or for one reason or another a large number of people who held their orders on the goldsmith presented them at the same time and depleted his gold stock, perhaps exhausted it. He failed, and there was the first bank failure.

SOME PLAIN BANKING PRINCIPLES

I WANT to apply those principles to the present banking situation. Although one may think this is intricate—remote—let me say that it is not very intricate, it can be understood, and it intimately affects our lives more than any single thing I know of. It is very important to understand what causes these rising prices and the results that follow.

Let me describe the banking situation prior to the enactment of the Federal Reserve Law, which went into effect in the fall of 1914, following the outbreak of the great war. A bank's real function is to loan orders on itself for the payment of lawful money, just as the goldsmith issued orders on himself for the payment of gold. The order stands on its books as a deposit. When a bank increases its loans, it adds for the time being to its deposits. But the law said there must be a relation between the amount of these orders on yourself, that is, the amount of your deposits, and the amount of legal money that you have to base those on; that is the case of a city bank, for every cube of lawful money you could add four cubes of credit, of deposit. Get in mind that these deposits are not deposits of money, except in a very small degree; the deposits are loans. That is, the bank has loaned to the individual an order on itself, and the loan becomes a deposit—that is really what happens. In the country it was regarded by the law as less likely that very large demands would be made on a bank for cash, and country banks were permitted to build that structure of blocks higher. The average, including the cities for the whole country, was that you must have

between 14 and 15 per cent of your total deposit liability in lawful money. That is, if you have a cube of lawful money you could build on it seven cubes of deposits, of demand upon a banker for lawful money. That was regarded as safe. But there was an inherent difficulty in that system by which every bank held in its own vault this reserve of lawful money, and the Federal Reserve Act was enacted. It said that this base shall no longer consist of money in the vault—we are going to consolidate all those reserves in the Federal Reserve Bank. This being a more economical use of gold, we will permit you to add on some blocks here to your pile—we will permit you to have between 10 and 11 blocks of credit on your base block of reserve.

Now remember the old scheme was four blocks for the city banks and an average for all the country of seven blocks, but under this new scheme we could add, after we got our base block here, between 10 and 11 blocks of credit of that size. That is, we could expand our deposits. Bankers could loan and loan and loan until their deposits grew to between 10 and 11 times the size of the base block. But the base block wasn't gold, it wasn't lawful money, it was a deposit in a Federal Reserve Bank and the law said that the Federal Reserve Bank need keep only 35 per cent, a little over a third of that in gold, so that it became possible to dilute the gold in this lower cube, this Federal Reserve Bank deposit, until but a third of it was gold.

INFLATION MADE EASY

THE result of that was that it was possible to inflate upon our legal money base. On a given amount of legal money, you could now build up thirty blocks. Now that is what happened in the theoretical possibilities of the law and that is what very quickly happens in the actual working out of the law. We haven't got quite 30 blocks yet, but we are getting up near that and every time we added a block, we added as much purchasing power as all the legal money under the base of our pyramid. Adding that purchasing power made new competition for goods, that competition for goods grew while the amount of goods

did not grow proportionately and we got universally higher prices, a general rise of prices, caused by the inflation of credit. There was a similar inflation of currency. We had gold currency, that is to say, we had gold certificates representing an equal amount of gold deposited in the Treasury. Those were largely in circulation. They have been combed out of circulation, put in the Federal Reserve Bank's reserve and Federal Reserve notes issued into circulation, but the note has back of it at the present time only about 43 per cent of legal money, and the amount of currency that we have today in circulation is 69 per cent greater than the total amount at the outbreak of the war.

FEDERAL RESERVE PLAN NOT FOOL-PROOF

WELL, was this Federal Reserve scheme a dangerous scheme? Wasn't there any way of controlling it? Would wise men have devised such a scheme to run away with the country? No. But it wasn't a fool-proof scheme. It was a scheme that had to have intelligent control. It was a scheme that might become subject to political control, and it did.

Now here is what happened. In that Federal Reserve Act is a brake just as effective as a brake on an automobile, to prevent the piling of these blocks up to the dangerous point near 30 times the base. That brake is the interest rate, the discount rate of the Federal Reserve Bank, the rate that it charges a member bank when the member bank wants to borrow a credit reserve, and that rate all through this great expansion period has been kept extremely low and it has been kept extremely low by the influence of the Treasury Department.

Now don't understand me as saying the Treasury Department has malignly set out to involve this country in an awful catastrophe of this inflation and this rise of prices. They didn't see, they didn't understand, they had the best of motives. They wanted to float the United States bonds at a low interest rate. They wanted to save the country from paying high interest, and they wanted to have the credit undoubtedly of financing a great war on low interest



"Zamming" the Public

rate bonds. They sold bonds at too low an interest rate, a rate that involved every purchaser in a loss the day the bond was delivered and has been a loss ever since, except for the first tax-free bonds. They prided themselves on having 21,000,000 investors, when before the war there had been but 400,000 bondholders in the whole United States, but what we really got was 21,000,000 disgusted people who had lost money by investment.

The influence of the Treasury kept down that discount rate, kept it down when the bankers on the Federal Reserve Boards thought it should go up. They have held it down to this day. The two most important figures in all the world is the ratio of reserve which the Federal Reserve Banks hold to their total deposits, and that rate of discount. One shows how fast they are going toward further inflation, or receding from it, the other shows whether the brake is being applied or whether we are letting it run free as we have.

RISING PRICES KEEP STEP WITH INFLATION

WE CAN go on with more inflation. We haven't built our stack of blocks thirty high yet, we are twenty-six or twenty-seven. We can go on to inflation that will add to the deposits of the member banks \$4,000,000,000. That is possible, and you will get out of it activity, rising prices, higher and higher and higher cost of living, because you would have four billions or some part of four billions new competition for goods without any new goods. If we do that we shall have more unrest, more social disorder, more radicalism, more explanations that are wrong or that are only in a small degree right, of the causes of high prices. There will be damning of profiteers and damning of labor, there will be criticism of the landlord, criticism of the effectiveness of the worker, there will be all sorts of criticisms.

Now the other course is to put on that brake—raise rates. "My goodness!" you will say, "but we don't want interest rates raised; that will be troublesome, won't it?" Yes, it is going to be troublesome to get down off this ladder, but if we keep on going up we will get down with a crash. It will be very much less troublesome to slow down now,

pay off loans, have somewhat less activity, reduce prices and get back to a sounder basis of financial life.

Whether we do that or not will depend on two things. That is, do we grasp the principles, do we know what it is now that has caused these rising prices and do we grasp the principle that we must do the other thing—reduce credits, put the brake on interest rates? Well, intelligence to grasp these principles is the first thing and a very difficult thing. The other thing needed is the courage to apply our intelligence to do the things necessary, to do the things that will immediately cause difficulty, cause some hardship, will slow this great activity of expansion which we have been experiencing. We cannot bring ourselves back where we were. That would be too drastic, probably. I wouldn't ask that myself, but at least stop where we are, go not one inch toward further inflation, higher prices, more unrest and nearer approach to a disastrous crash.

We should stop expansion now, and then reduce gradually, gradually right some of the social injustice that occurred on the way up. We will be creating some new social injustice as we go down, so the thing has got to be very carefully handled.

I don't want to seem a Cassandra; I really am an optimist. I believe in America. I know that we have simply an untold future, something greater than we have ever dreamed of. While I have been preaching in a dismal strain, I am not dismal. To look at things short-ranged they seem different and perhaps seem to have extreme obstacles in the very near future, but if we will have understanding, intelligence, courage, we can right those difficulties and we can gain in the world the place of transcendent leadership which lies before us.

UNSCRAMBLING EUROPEAN ROYALTY

FROM STATE MARRIAGES INTO THE DIVORCE COURT

By H. DE WISSEN

WAR, that blasted away the foundations of political and economic Europe, has done something more. Its backfires are now scorching various royal marriages. From Germany comes the news of assorted princely and ducal beings, among them the ex-Kaiser's sons, contemplating the divorce courts. From the Balkans drift stories of marital discontent and of the desire to put asunder. Switzerland, ever a place of gossip, is now a whispering gallery of the domestic troubles of many nobility which fled there when the debacle came. All this is not a reflection of marital unrest on the continent. It is not one of those situations wherein all the people of a land go off at some tangent, yet only the sensationalized names of their great ones spring into print. No; royalty is divorcing royalty or ignoring royalty and going tripping off with barmaids, generally consorting with those who are called of low birth—or perhaps amorously entangling itself with other royalty, impossible in the days when love was not the reason for marriage in the European courts.

The purple-blooded divorces that are in the air today hold a significance of the new times which everyone, except a few poor misguided wretches, believe to be at hand. They connote that land is being divorced from land; that whole groups of people are being divorced from other and foreign peoples. For it was land, population, wealth, which was the moving force that, most of the time, contracted the marriages of continental royalty. And now that the map of Europe has been redrawn, transformed into a sort of crazy-quilt of various little "democratic" states, there is

no need for holding them together in the bonds of matrimony. For example, of what avail is it today for the ex-Royal Highness Prince Oscar of Prussia to remain married to Ina Levetzow, daughter of the Minister of State of the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin? It was a Hohenzollern policy, you know, to knit together the states of the German Empire by bringing about marriages between the offspring of their petty ruling houses and Hohenzollerns. And of course, the Kaiser did not stop there but slung his marriage web over all Europe. Is it any wonder, then, today that young people who were forced into these state marriages are now doing their best to break them and, after the nightmare of war, are trying to find some happiness in true love?

A POLICY OF LOVELESS MARRIAGES

THAT was no new thing, marrying lands and peoples. It began centuries ago. Like many other loveless things, it was "made in Germany." In the sixteenth century there were seven brothers of Osnabruck, possessing among other citadels the city of Luneburg. They it was who laid the foundation for the policy of loveless marriages, of marrying people and lands, that reached its climax after centuries of mating cousins with cousins, with the matrimonial web of the Kaiser. These seven brothers who five centuries ago dwelt on the edge of the Black Forest, felt that they were not safe. They needed more land, for more land meant more power. Their seven puny dukedoms were of no consequence, scattered as they were between the seven brothers. So they agreed among themselves that six of them should retire in favor of one, to be the only representative of the family. The chosen brother was Ernst Augustus, bishop of Osnabruck. He looked about him and saw the lands of Sophie of Palatine. And so he and Sophie were married. Their son in due time succeeded, and added more land that had come into the line through his mother and her relations. It had been agreed among this son and his brothers that only one of them was to be the family head, just as his father and his

uncles had agreed. So came into being the family that bred George I of England and the kings of Prussia. For it was through a daughter of this family, Sophie Charlotte, that the Osnabruck land-marriers were able to combine with the Zollern family, that took on the prefix "Hohen" in later years.

These loveless marriages were desired for two reasons: to secure land, which meant power, and to breed a race of kings. It was recognized that through the systematic selection of certain distinct types, special kinds of plants and animals can be developed. It was heeded that, given time, a certain number of generations, attributes appearing first as sporadic became fixed and permanent characteristics so long as the strain is kept pure. Look at the thousand-year-old backgrounds of the Romanoffs, the Hohenzollerns, and the Guelphs, and you will see that it is impossible to separate them from each other. Nor can they be separated from most of the dynasties in Europe. Consider that the King of England is the Kaiser's cousin; that Wilhelm has seen the British throne occupied successively by his grandmother, his uncle and his cousin; that the late Czarina is also the Kaiser's cousin; that Maud, Queen of Norway, is the King of England's sister, hence, also a cousin of the Kaiser; that Sophie, the late Queen of Greece, is the Kaiser's sister; that the late Czar of Russia is his second cousin; that the Prince of Cumberland is his son-in-law, also a cousin of the Czar's and the British King's and a grandson of the King of Denmark; that the Princess of Saxe-Meiningen, Schaumburg-Lippe, and Hesse are all brothers-in-law of the Kaiser; that the Crown Princess of Sweden is related to him through her mother, a Prussian princess; that Manuel, ex-King of Portugal, married a Hohenzollern and that the Queen of Holland not only married a German prince but that there have been five marriages between her house and the Hohenzollerns. Not forgetting that the Kaiser succeeded in marrying off a German princess to the heir to the Montenegrin throne.

RESULT OF ROYAL INBREEDING

NOW all this is very complicated and very tangled, but it lends itself to interesting speculation. It shows that for centuries European royalty has been going through a process of inbreeding, marrying cousin to cousin, to keep the royal strain pure and to acquire land for political purposes. But, human beings and plants and animals are quite different. You can take racehorses and develop a breed; and you can take plants and develop a breed. These breeds are very fine and entirely satisfactory—for a racehorse or a rose does not possess the human brain. But when people are so closely bred for centuries the result is not such a fine breed. We have laws in many States that prevent the marriages of cousins. Perhaps if European royalty had had these laws there would not have been reached in the eugenic scale some of the freaks which came to light during the war.

"I am the vice-regent of God, I am His representative on earth." You remember that? Wilhelm, the result of much inbreeding, said it.

And perhaps you recall how the Little Father of All-the-Russias sat, shortly before the Revolution, with his unbathed charlatans and soothsayers around him, and peered into a crystal ball to learn what he should do. Nicholas was the result of much inbreeding.

They tell a story in Stockholm of Prince Oscar who renounced his rights. One day when he was a little boy he asked the gorgeous Court Chamberlain, "Why is it that father and mother married? I often hear them say that they never loved each other."

Of course, precocious; and it gave the smooth-tongued Court Chamberlain a disconcerting moment before he could reply.

"Your Royal Highness," he said, "kings and queens cannot take their feelings into consideration when they marry. They have to marry for the good of the nation." All of which seemed to be supreme self-sacrifice, being as it

was for the sake of the dear people for whom, of course, the kingly heart ever bleeds.

"I'm glad I'm not a king," said the young Swedish prince. "I hope I never will be. I don't want to be unhappy."

That began the story of a prince who does not show any signs of being unscrambled in these days of dividing marriages that were contracted, of course, for the good of the people. For lo, the young Prince Oscar, after being dragged about by his mother from one foreign capital to another, after having several tempting land-marriages dangled before his eyes, went off and married a little wisp of a girl with pale features and wonderful gray eyes, who bore the very unprincely name of Ebba Munck. Nor could any amount of royal pressure induce him to separate from his un-royal bride.

THE CROWN PRINCE'S AMERICAN FLIRTATION

NOT so fortunate was the Crown Prince of Germany, about whom the divorce rumors persist. Certain it is that even with a Restoration he will never see the German throne. His thirteen-year-old son, Wilhelm Friedrich, possibly with his wife Cecelie as regent, but Friedrich Wilhelm, never! That he will be divorced is regarded as certain; too many stories are drifting across from Europe for there not to be some serious basis for this. Of course, everyone knows that the Crown Prince treated Cecelie shamefully and that the lady had grounds for divorce during, as well as before the war. But there was a time when Friedrich Wilhelm was very young, when he might have spared himself his present plight, the memories that must harass him, had he then the nerve to go ahead. The girl was an American. She was in London. The Crown Prince, then unmarried, was utterly infatuated with her. She was a level-headed girl and she told him were she to marry him, that his father would bar him from the throne. How ironic that sounds today! The then young Crown Prince said he didn't care, that he would officially renounce

all rights to the throne if she would marry him. To prove it he put upon her finger an ancient ring, a treasure of the Hohenzollerns that has never been out of that house. And the American girl had about made up her mind to marry him. In a few days there called upon her a representative of the German embassy in London, who demanded back the ring in the name of the Kaiser. Seeing what a mess was about to be stirred up, the American girl withdrew—a very, very wise girl in the light of the years sketching the Crown Prince's character more sharply. But perhaps she could have worked a miracle, changed him; perhaps had he told her to stand her ground and that his father could go to the devil, she might have saved him from himself, and he might today be a happy man. For who can tell how things might be changed if the clock could only be turned back?

Undoubtedly one of the most successful land-marriers of Europe was King Nicholas of Montenegro. Only once was the wool pulled over the eyes of the ruler of the little mountain kingdom and that was when the Crown Prince Danilo brought back with him from Berlin a bride, the Duchess Jutta, of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.

A SUCCESSFUL ROYAL MARRIAGE-BROKER

NOW, good old Nicholas possessed six exceedingly beautiful daughters, and being a king, with the welfare of his people ever close to his heart—his own fortunes being, of course, of no consequence—he became a foxy old match-maker. He sent the six girls to Russia for no other reason but to be educated. There was a very fine finishing school in Petrograd, the convent of Smolna (where incidentally the Bolsheviki had their first headquarters). Smolna was under the direct protection of the Russian Empress. Of course, Nicholas did not send his girls there for that reason, but should any of them seem attractive in the eyes of powerful Russian princes, no harm was done. By way of passing, Nicholas at the time was angling for a complete understanding between Russia and Montenegro. He wanted the Czar to protect his kingdom.

His six beautiful daughters remained at the convent

a year or two after their education was completed. Then weddings were announced. One of them had landed the Grand Duke Peter and another Duke George. And the heart of the old King of Montenegro was very pleased. His country was united more solidly, politically, with Russia.

Sweet and beautiful romance continued to smile upon the little mountain kingdom. The old man found the sympathies and the support of Great Britain to be quite desirable. Another daughter married Francis Joseph, Prince of Battenburg. This assured him the good will of Queen Victoria, whose youngest daughter Beatrice was married to another Battenburg. But the old man's greatest triumph was when he put a Montenegrin on the throne of Italy. His daughter, Helene, was united to Victor Emmanuel, then the Crown Prince, now king. This last match just happened to turn out very happily. Land was married to land, but the personalities of the man and the woman who were dragged into the marriage were such that a genuine love developed after marriage. But some of the other marriages of the old King's daughters which were made in Heaven are not so happy, for land was just married to land and there is no spark of love in earth.

Through no good motive on his part, for he was swayed merely by questions of foreign policy, the Kaiser prevented a marriage which had it taken place would today be susceptible to unscrambling. In the spring of 1914, King Carol, then ruling Roumania, sent his nephew and heir, the Crown Prince Ferdinand, together with his wife, the Crown Princess, and their eldest son to Petrograd. You will note how these Balkan states were ever sending royal youth to Russia, ever seeking matrimonial alliances with the kinsmen of the Czar, seeking protection, of course, against the inevitable day when the Teutons would sweep down from the north. The old Roumanian King didn't have long to live and he knew it. Ferdinand, the Crown Prince, was a man well along in years and the old King wanted to be sure that Ferdinand's son married the right land, which was Russia.

Getting news of this, the Kaiser lost no time. What did Ferdinand's son want to marry in Russia for? Weren't there plenty of long-footed German princesses? The Kaiser's cousin wasn't sitting on the throne with the Czar for nothing. She whispered and the Grand Duchess Olga who was picked out to marry Ferdinand's son, suddenly discovered that she would have nothing to do with him. So did a royal marriage go by the boards. It is interesting to note that, with the war at an end, this same young Roumanian, then the heir to the throne, for the old King had died and Ferdinand now ruled, completely kicked over the traces of royal marriage. To Ferdinand he said: "I won't marry any princess to increase the power or popularity of our dynasty. I am going to marry as my heart tells me to." And he who was slated for the Grand Duchess Olga, married a comic-opera singer of Bucharest, renounced his rights to the throne and told them all precisely what he thought of state marriages. All of which means that the Duchess Olga was saved from a divorce.

JOACHIM HOHENZOLLERN'S DOWNFALL

THERE is today in Campione, on Lake Lugano, which is the new Italian version of Monte Carlo, a quite young and quite feverish gambler. His name is Joachim Hohenzollern. The last time his wife was seen with him was more than a year ago in Munich when he was arrested for "complicity in the reactionary plot," and she wept for mortification when he was led away, and begged that they would not injure the poor boy.

On the surface Joachim's royal marriage had all the signs of romance. He had just come back to Berlin from the Russian front. He was not well. One refrains from the use of the word wounded because, although it was officially reported that he was hit by shrapnel, there were those who said that when this youngest of the Kaiser's sons heard a sudden crash of fire he became so terrified that he fell off his horse in a fit and broke his shoulder. But, of course, this was no food for the dolts who were letting their loved ones be killed by the hundreds of thousands. It is

a human characteristic that peoples exalt those of royal blood, imagining them to be beings totally different from themselves, and that then when these royal personages show that they are susceptible to human influences, these same peoples who have deified them, go into ecstasies—"the Prince is just like anyone else." So Joachim was "wounded just like anyone else."

His marriage came swift upon the heels of the wound or broken collar-bone, or whatever it was. A war marriage, very romantic. The poor girl was the Princess Marie Augustine, niece of the Duke of Anhalt, a very powerful German house dating back to the eleventh century, a house whose good will the Kaiser desired to solidify. And so today, with nobody caring a whoop about the House of Anhalt, Joachim is down at the Italian "Monte Carlo" and talking of the divorce courts.

PRINCESS AND TRUCK DRIVER

ANOTHER of the Kaiser's sons, August Wilhelm, is in matrimonial difficulties. This time it is the wife who is weary of the yoke. She, the Princess Alexandria Victoria, had considerable draft behind her name, being a princess of Schleswig - Holstein - Sonderburg - Glucksburg. Also, she is a niece of the Kaiser, her family and his having had a common ancestry in the seventeenth century. The holy marriage of August Wilhelm and the princess was perpetrated in 1908. She is a beautiful and vivacious woman with a sense of humor, incredibly rare among German princesses, a gift which stood her in good stead during her years under the Hohenzollern roof. She stood for the Prince so long as there were reasons of state that demanded it, but these are gone now and perhaps she is thinking of the right to happiness.

A side-light on her: German troops were going to the front. She was in a railroad station in the uniform of the Red Cross, dispensing sausages and beer. A sergeant, who didn't know who she was from Eve, beamed upon her and said: "Sister, if I come back from the war, I shall marry none but you."

The sergeant used to drive a truck for a brewery, but the Princess did not elevate her brows; instead she smiled and said: "Very well, we will wait and see if you are ready to keep your word."

Today she is talking divorce. The truck driver? Who can tell? Elinor Glyn has written of stranger things.

Royalty will break out when reasons of state no longer hold it in check. A few years ago Alexander, the Crown Prince of Greece, very nearly married Elizabeth, the Crown Princess of Roumania. But one knows how diplomatic policies in the Balkans have been kicked aside since the war. From Athens we now have the news that King Alexander now wishes to marry an American girl of rare beauty and make her his queen. While in Switzerland, fugitives from Greece, his father Constantine and Sophie Hohenzollern, whom the Kaiser saddled upon him as a wife, are sitting on the opposite sides of a room in a cheap little chalet near Berne, and making faces at each other.

ANY MORE MORGANATIC MARRIAGES?

IT would seem that the necessity for morganatic marriages is at an end, unless of course, Europe reverts to its old political condition, which nobody but the pessimists expect. It may be that some day an American millionaire will create astonishment by permitting his daughter to marry a Savoy or a Windsor. For who can tell how far the reaction against autocracy will go? Were it not for the eternal inconsistency of mankind, such things might come to pass. But even among us in our upper classes there remains a worship of all the buncombe that is built up around royal personages. For have we not the conduct of Americans at the various banquets given the young Prince of Wales to gaze upon—occasions when the young Prince had to teach his hosts some things about democracy and of the asininity of seating him in a throne-like chair totally distinctive from that of any other guest at the table. So, it may be that the day is not here when the fatuous worship of royalty is at an end. Perhaps we are only passing through a period and that history will again show

itself to be immutable in its cycles and that there will swing back the worship of royalty, if not of royalty, of dictators. Do you recall the French Revolution? The hatred of royalty, then the dictator, then royalty again? So it may be that there will again return the necessity for these marriages of state, for the mating of lands with lands, of power with power. Whether they will come back or not depends entirely upon the permanency of the various struggling democracies that have been set up in Europe, hacked out from old royalist lands.

But today there are no cares of state for a good part of the princes and dukes on the Continent. So the loveless marriages are being openly flouted. Grand duchy is being divorced from grand duchy. At an end, for the time being, are the marital intrigues to ally one nation with another. While mankind which set up kings, pampered their families, became foolishly happy when they discovered in them "human qualities," and then dethroned them for not being divine, is now struggling, moiling around, trying to create democracies out of autocracy material. While its former princes and kings are selling their jewelry in Switzerland to pay divorce lawyers' bills or are dining pleasantly among the trees of the Champs Elysee with very unroyal but very charming women, or are splitting wood, or are going mad.

THE PRICE OF SUCCESS

AS REVEALED IN THE CAREER OF
EDWARD G. ACHESON

By EDWIN WILDMAN

A PROSPEROUS manager of a big corporation wrote to a valuable employee, who was about to leave his employ, what he regarded as sound advice.

"It isn't what is in a man but what gets out that makes an impression on the world," he wrote. "Try and make your world mark *today* without fretting over tomorrow, and I think you will be surprised to find out how tomorrow will take care of itself. I hope you will take pride in advancing the interests of your companies, and you will find they will take care of you, and don't get into any side currents or by-ways."

"I was being made use of, and, though I was willing to serve the interests of my former employers, I did not think I was being justly paid for what I was doing," the inventor explained.

And yet, the price he paid for the success and distinction that came to him, in later years, had nothing to do with money. The combined forces in him that drove him onward were imperishable, because they had added to the perpetual momentum of science. The puzzling feature of success is not what it costs, but how to get it. The puzzle has not yet been solved, success is still a secret of human alchemy. The price of success is the nearest approach to the secret, and the price varies, but in it there are certain standard elements of character, such as will, tirelessness, courage, and, above all, inspiration. Perhaps between the wizard of scientific discovery and the poet there is a kinship, an attraction mutually useful. In this relation, an inventor of world-wide fame thus expressed himself:

"Could we but know the heart secrets of men who have won renown for great works, we would learn that moving them irresistibly toward higher things was a prompting to which their inspiration responded."

THIS secret motto was Shakespeare's familiar couplet:
"There is a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough-hew them how we will."

Of course, the story of a man's success is never told in all the temperatures of the struggle. Recollection of experience has the pallor of reflected facts, but it also has the advantage of accumulated results. Its failures are wiped off the slate, although in overcoming them success is made a permanent record. This young inventor, today advanced in years but young in the habits of industry, has always sensed a deeper meaning in success than financial ends.

"Ambitious youth everywhere," he says, "need a realization of their own mental and physical ability, as well as a proper appreciation of accomplishment to inspire them to their greatest effort to win success."

INSPIRATION THE MOTIVE POWER

"ANY inspiration which arouses one's life and awakens it to its own possibilities, guiding one to devote his life and efforts as a leader in the world's work, is worth while," he says. This is the remembered impulse of Dr. Edward Goodrich Acheson, whose discoveries of entirely new materials in nature, indispensable for a variety of purposes to the world, have made him an international figure of importance among scientific men. His efforts have not been directed at merely improving processes—he has created new industries by his discoveries. He has been described as an electrochemical engineer. It is a new profession, unknown to the vast knowledge of the dictionary.

To express a new thing in life starts a new train of thought loaded with old theories, stimulates the imagination to a new faith in its own impulses. Discovering that electricity held many heretofore hidden alliances with

chemistry, Dr. Acheson united them. He was one of the founders of The Electrochemical Society, became its President, and justified his faith in something he had faintly imagined in his youth. To future dictionaries he has added new words—*aquadag*, *oildag* and *carborundum*. The latter, though in general use for many years, was one of his earliest discoveries.

Long before these new wonders of his research had emerged into practical service, the boy Acheson was gearing up his character. Speaking of those times, he said:

"With my old relics, I found a note-book containing entries made in those boyhood days, and amongst them are a number of quotations from Shakespeare and other sources which I think have had much to do with molding my character. Here are a few of them:

'Speak sweetly, man, although thy looks be sour.'

'Life's but a walking shadow.'

'The worst is death, and death shall have his day.'

'Hope to enjoy is little less in joy, than hope enjoyed.' "

Unusual precepts for a boy to choose, whose boyhood was a hard working, practical, modest beginning of celebrated achievements later. He was schooled in ceaseless defeat, in poverty and common school instruction, always strangely persistent to an inspiration, at first scarcely perceptible, that he wanted to be a chemist. Some finger of fate kept pointing the way for him, insisting that he must give his life to industrial chemistry. Bursting with this desire, when a youth, he went to a scientist and told him his ambition. The scientist tried to discourage him. "You'll only waste your time. There is nothing in it. Drop it," he told him. Fortunately, he ignored the advice, not because he didn't believe it, but because he had looked into the furnace of life and saw success at the price of sacrifice, patience, and a certain intuition for nature's secrets.

SOLVES WORLD-OLD CHEMICAL MYSTERIES

TODAY his name is linked with Faraday and Crookes. He has invented carborundum, used all over the world,

till it has reached sales amounting to millions of dollars. Fifty million pounds of another substance he has discovered are used every year. Another substance, so rare that previously it could be found only in museums, has, by a stroke of his wizardry, been made available at ten or twelve cents a pound. Previously it was worth \$2,500 a pound.

Obviously he has uncovered the secrets which nature had jealously hidden from man, secrets by which these valuable substances had been inaccessible to industry. His intuition solved some chemical mysteries of the ages, just as did the intuition of such distinguished scientific pioneers as Galileo, founder of experimental physics and astronomy, and our own Franklin, whose discovery that lightning was an electrical display startled the world.

Although today Dr. Acheson has to meet the tax collector with a smiling acknowledgment that he owes him a million, because he has huge plants in this country and many others scattered over Europe, the price of his success is far greater. He has paid for it in long hours of sleeplessness, in exhaustion of months spent in a damp, unhealthy cellar conducting secret experiments, by crushing failures, by almost ragged poverty, and always by entire indifference to money.

He spent his youth in the unremunerative glow of inspiration, often with coarse food and scanty shelter. Always, the actual price was greater than the immediate reward. He worked for \$7.50 a week, in blind devotion to the future. When he earned \$15 a week he felt that it was a great opportunity.

The great price of his success has not been paid in his present fortune, but in the fever of his ambition to trace the minutest particles of a speck, a point, invisible to the naked eye. The price was paid when after failure and mistrust and complete defeat he was able to suspend the myriad particles in which he found constant movement in life, in liquids, because they were so small as to defy the law of gravity. In this discovery he created a lubricant far superior to any oil that came from any refining process.

His faith in himself was unerring, and his patience inexhaustible. He tramped New York looking for a job where he could see the things he wanted to see in chemical and electrical processes. Finally, in despair, he turned to Edison, as a magnetic needle seeks the pole. Entirely unknown, he spent his last change in getting out to Edison's laboratory, to get a job. He took the risk of being turned down. He got the job, and was promoted till he went to Paris as an assistant to install an exhibition of the Edison lamps. His price was infinitesimal in wages, but his success was being paid for with feverish devotion every minute his eyes were open, and his brain alert.

DISCOVERS CARBORUNDUM

THE discovery of carborundum, as Acheson tells it, explains his methods. His theory was that by impregnating clay with carbon under the influence of electric heat, some valuable results might be attained.

"An iron bowl, such as plumbers use for holding their melted solder, was attached to one lead from a dynamo and filled with a mixture of clay and powdered coke," he said "the end of an arc light carbon attached to the other lead was inserted into the mixture. The percentage of coke was high enough to carry a current, and a good strong one was passed through the mixture between the lamp carbon and bowl, until the clay in the center was melted and heated to a very high temperature. When cold, the mass was examined. It did not fill my expectations; but I, by sheer chance, happened to notice a few bright specks on the end of the arc carbon that had been in the mixture. I placed one on the end of a lead pencil and drew it across a pane of glass. It cut the glass like a diamond. I repeated the experiment, and collected enough of the material to test its abrasive qualities. I mounted an iron disc in a lathe and, oiling its surface, applied the material which adhered, and, with this revolving disc, I cut the polished face off the diamond in a finger ring still owned and worn by me.

"I now made a small furnace of bricks, and after much patient work had what I considered enough to take to the

lapidaries in New York City. With a friend, W. C. McCalister, a druggist of Monongahela, I started for New York.

“On the way we coined a name for my new, and as yet unnamed, material. Under the impression, without any chemical analysis, that it was composed of carbon and corundum, I called it ‘carborundum.’”

The experiments which brought about his discovery of Egyptianized clay were made while he was experimenting with graphite. He discovered that when a clay moderately weak in strength and plasticity was treated with tannin, extract of straw and other plant extracts, it was increased in those properties. The particles of clay were reduced so fine that they would pass through a filter paper and would remain permanently suspended in water. Believing this an explanation of why the Egyptians used straw in making brick, the new substance was named Egyptianized clay.

Among the half-hundred patents Dr. Acheson has taken out are several of no slight moment to the industrial world. He has, for example, brought silicon down from a price of \$2,500 a pound to a few cents a pound by his metallic silicon. He has developed an extensive business in an ink made from carbon black, an ink which has been found unexcelled for lithographic and certain other purposes. He is now working on a remarkable filter apparatus.

Dr. Acheson's discoveries and inventions have been widely recognized, and he has received from learned societies, as well as expositions: the John Scott Medal (Franklin Institute), for the invention of carborundum; Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition, Omaha, Neb., 1898, prize for artificial graphite; Grand Prix, Exposition Universelle Internationale, Paris, France, 1900, and Louisiana Purchase Exposition, 1904, for carborundum and artificial graphite; John Scott Medal (Franklin Institute), for artificial graphite; Gold Medal, Pan-American Exposition, Buffalo, N. Y., for artificial graphite; Count Rumford Medal, Premium, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston, 1908, for new industrial products of the electric furnace; the Perkin Research Medal, 1910.

The price of success for an inventor is paid, when nature has been defeated in her efforts to keep secrets from him.

HOLIDAYS

By HAROLD COOK

Some people think it amusing to go back
To the old town for the holidays. I don't.
But this year I had time
To go up to the attic of the house—
The attic's always friendly—
And sit in the old chair which my mother, laughing,
Used to say came over with the Pilgrims
In the Mayflower.
Perhaps—I've sailed it many miles at least.
It's been to Spain with me to tap fat tuns of wine
—'Twas then the old trunk was Gibraltar—
And brought back doubloons enough, laid face to face,
To fill the attic full.
—I've been to Spain since then.
Gibraltar lay small beside the trunk; the wine was dead.
Those days
Queued things would come, almost unsummoned,
To gibber at me when it rained.
And I saw the rain fall, shattering
Cherry-shadowed streets.
I heard the wind ring tiny bells under the ginkgo trees,
And saw the joss asleep on incense—
China, or else Japan, I did not know.
Youthful surmise did not discriminate,
But swept down mountains, seas, and time;
Made magic menial.
Ah, life burns out like incense.
The cherry blossoms strike our eyes with floods of pink.
The trees stand naked.
The silver rain falls and halts the subways,
The queued ghosts do my collars.
The great tuns, they say, bring men to prison houses,
And the chair brings pride.
Some people think it amusing to go back.
It's pitiful to me.

A NEW ATTITUDE TOWARD THE MORAL OFFENDER

A DAY IN COURT WITH JUDGE MAC NEILLE

By GEORGE F. KEARNEY

The significance of Judge MacNeillie's work in Philadelphia's new Court of Misdemeanants is, that it suggests an experiment in justice that offers a humanitarian solution of a grave problem in social life.

WHEN the woman taken in adultery was brought before Christ by the Scribes and Pharisees, He was told that the law of Moses required that she be stoned. Cleverly they forced Him to judge her case and His decision is a tantalizing bit of ethical doctrine which Christian civilization never has cared to adopt. In this vividly dramatic story there is revealed the deeply personal way in which Christ would deal with social crime. Our courts of today still punish the moral offender with the Mosaic code; they have never conceived their function to be corrective in any other sense than to expose all evil-doers and punish them for their crimes without any regard for the underlying facts.

But there has been in operation for the past six years a unique judicial experiment, the Misdemeanants' Court of Philadelphia, which lately has been carefully studied, condemned and commended by social workers from all over the United States. There is behind the procedure of this interesting court a deeply personal feeling for the offender taken in sin which is not punitive but entirely corrective. It stands alone as a court that pays no attention to the principle "justice though the heavens fall;" its methods are so original that frequently its procedure is very illegal and

it certainly tosses to the winds all the tradition that hangs heavily over many a courtroom.

There is a striking similarity between the ethics of this court and the sociological principles of Jesus Christ. When they brought the woman before Him, it will be remembered that He said: "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her." As the Christ stooped down to write with His finger on the ground, they left Him one by one. Finally He drew Himself up and asked:

"Woman, where are they? Did no man condemn thee?"

And she answered, "No man, Lord."

"Neither do I condemn thee," Christ answered. "Go thy way; from henceforth sin no more."

In outline much the same scene is enacted each court day in this Philadelphia institution. Perhaps, then, the best way to observe its work is to sit on the bench with the Judge while he goes over his day's cases.

WORKINGS OF THE MISDEMEANANTS' COURT

THE courtroom is small and ordinarily permits no spectators. It is located in the very center of the old vice district of Philadelphia in a building which was once an old schoolhouse. On the upper floors there are dormitories for the women arrested. One floor is for the professional women of the streets who, upon medical examination have been found suffering from specific blood diseases, while the top floor, an airy, comfortable place, is reserved for the young girls whose records are clean and who are but temporarily in difficulties. The men arrested—and this court rules that the man shall always be arrested with the woman—are committed to prison until trial.

In taking our place beside the Judge, we notice that he seems to have the case pretty well tried before the hearing. This is the distinctive work of this court. On his desk there is a large pile of papers covering the previous court record of each case brought before him, the report of the doctor who has examined the man and woman to be tried, and a mass of information gathered by a large force of probation officers as to the living conditions, employment, tempera-

ment, friends, financial condition, standing in the community of the accused, as well as the testimony of family and relatives as to their conduct. All this material is gathered without divulging why. This rule is rigidly and tactfully adhered to.

This service makes the Misdemeanants' Court of Philadelphia a unique institution. Many courts nowadays have probation officers that start the work after the offender has been put on probation. Chicago has a Morals Court that investigates the stories of each person committed, but there is no court that goes into the history of each case so thoroughly. The average judge in any court steps up to his bench with no advance information of the case; he listens to the testimony presented by the two attorneys and decides according to the merits of the legal case as presented. In this court the judge has the life history of the offenders before him and his decision is based more on the basis of the permanent good that can be done to the individual than on any idea of immediate punishment.

A NEW JUDICIAL CONCEPTION

IN the few minutes before the cases are brought forward, Judge Raymond MacNeille, one of the most active of the judges in Philadelphia, explains to us briefly this new conception of his duty:

"Is it the duty of the judge to expose relentlessly all wrongdoers, meting out justice without regard to the consequences of the exposure? Or is there a human problem behind each case which, if understood, would bring about a solution of the trouble far better than any commitment to prison or fine would mean? In this court we conceive our function to be corrective and not punitive. We believe that modern society cannot carry on the old scarlet-letter system which obviously drags the offender lower down in the estimation of herself and her community.

"We do not claim we have found any great and new solution to the vice problem. We do not claim the wisdom of a Solomon in dealing with our cases, but we have watched the happier solution we offer of thousands of cases that have passed through our courts sufficiently to be convinced of the practicability of the ideals under which we work."

The first case is then heard. A tall, cadaverous looking man brought in is a high-school professor from Jersey.

He is exceedingly nervous and casts his eye frequently to the door of the little ante-room where his wife waits in total ignorance of why her husband is before the court. There enters from another door a professional woman of the streets. They had been arrested together. The man's first story had been that he had had some beer which he claimed was drugged, and that bereft him of reason. But the woman had been priorly examined and she had told that this visit to her was his third and that she did not know he was married. In fact, she claimed that he had promised to marry her and take her from her life of shame.

The Judge examined carefully the records of the two offenders. The woman, it was revealed by medical examination, had a venereal disease. The man had not. A glance at the man revealed the greatly perturbed state of his mind. It was evident that he had been taught a great lesson.

THE COURT LECTURES A MARRIED MAN

THE Judge, in charging the prisoner, lectured him in no uncertain terms. As his talk proceeded the man grew whiter and whiter. The Judge explained the very serious consequences that would have followed the contraction of a deadly disease, and presented the case to the man from all points. He then ordered the man's wife brought in, and the woman to be removed temporarily. The minute the wife entered the room the Judge changed entirely the topic of his conversation. The wife stood in astonishment as she heard the Judge lecture and fine her husband for getting drunk. Then the Judge called the wife to the bar and said:

"I want you to take your husband home, and see that he gets more pleasures in life than he has had. Cook him better meals, and take more care of your home and be pleasanter to him.

"Moreover, I want you to forget this incident and do not plague him unnecessarily about it for we have investigated the home life of your husband, and your friends and relatives say that you are always plaguing him about earning more money than he can get in teaching. They have told us that you wanted him to go out on the road as a traveling salesman but, while he would, doubtless, earn more money he is getting too old to do that. He

has gotten into trouble here in Philadelphia, for you have not made things pleasant for him at home.

"Take him home and do not let him come to Philadelphia again by himself for if he does he may get drunk again and hit another policeman."

The pair was dismissed and went away happily. The woman was then brought in and committed, not to jail, but to the Gyncecan Hospital, which she will not be allowed to leave until entirely cured of her disease. While in the hospital she will be put through a systematic training to fit her for some useful employment, and an employment service will get her work when she leaves the hospital.

"The man has had a thorough scare," commented the Judge, "and our experience has been that one such scare is enough for this type of a man. They never come back again. We will check up this case in about a month and we can still commit him to prison if he is persistent; but we are anxious to give him a full chance to reform. In the case of the girl we have to use more strenuous means. There is no legal justification for committing a girl to a hospital until she is cured; but we give them the alternative of either doing this or going to prison and they voluntarily accept this. Then the lawyers of Philadelphia have been very careful not to make it hard for us and they do not try to release a girl from our hospital until she is cured."

AN EMPLOYER'S ENFORCED MARRIAGE

THE next case to be brought before the docket was a very young girl who had been arrested with her employer, also rather young, as they were about to register as man and wife at a hotel. It was very evident that the girl was thoroughly wrapped up in the man who, when examined, said he should like to marry her but did not feel as though he had the money. The Judge asked the girl whether she should like to marry him and she answered affirmatively. The alternative that the Judge held out to the man was to go to the House of Correction, and he was lectured soundly for presuming on the girl's innocence. It was then explained by an investigator that the pair could get along on the money earned by the man and the Judge decided to marry them before he let them go.

"Now I am going to sentence you to a happy married life," he said. "You both love each other. You are the first man this girl has ever loved and were I to turn her

loose she might go out into the world with a disillusioned idea of all men. You have been unprincipled with her and now I am anxious to see that you both make this love you say you have for each other into a happy married life. We will put you on probation and once in a while our agents will call to see you to see if you are thoroughly happy and that, as a husband, you are doing the right thing by your wife."

When the couple had passed out of the room, Judge MacNeille commented:

"This seems a crude decision to make since it entails a forced marriage and, as an ethical principle, I am opposed to them. We have looked up the case of this girl and found she has no strong friends. She has a slight disposition to immorality as evidenced by the willingness with which she went with this man. He is earning around \$45 a week which should support a wife in fair style.

"Turn this girl out of the House of Correction, which is the obvious place to send her, and she can easily be drawn into an immoral life. This man has commanded her love, obeying those processes of human affection of which we have so little clear knowledge. She is more worthy of him than he is of her, but we have found that he has been square in all his business dealings and we have come to the conclusion that he will live up to his marriage contract. At least, we will put them both on probation and try to see them both set out on a well-matched marital career."

A MOTHER IN TROUBLE

WITH the disposition of this case a more dramatic story was brought before the bar of the court. A pale and thoroughly cowed little middle-aged lady had been arrested in the company of a dissolute bachelor. They were neighbors in a bleak town of lower Jersey and they had been under surveillance for several weeks by the Vice Squad. In the testimony it developed that they had made a practice of coming to the city once a week. In addition they had misled the Vice Squad and the man had defied the court authorities. Moreover, they were both diseased. On diligent inquiry it was found that the woman was the mother of three children whose father had died but three years before. Since her arrest she had lived in great dread of her children finding out the reason. She declared that she could never resume residence in their old home, which was mortgaged quite up to its valuation, making it impossible

for them to move. The neighbors, she declared, would make it uncomfortable for her children and she could never live down the disgrace.

As the case was being tried, one of the court clerks stepped in to notify Judge MacNeille that the oldest son of the woman had just arrived and wanted to be admitted to the trial. With the usual informality of this court, the Judge called a recess and retired to his private room for an interview with the boy. On questioning, the Judge found that he was in his last year at a theological seminary. He had not learned the reason for his mother's arrest and was anxious to know the whole truth, so that his little sister and brother could be shielded from the facts of the case. The Judge pondered for a long while over the exact decision he was to make. He finally told the boy to sit in his private room while he made a thorough examination of the principals of the case. On his return to the courtroom he brought the man before the bar of the court and offered him a long term of imprisonment or the alternative of paying a heavy fine. The man chose to pay the fine, but winced at its size. In dealing with him the Judge spared no words. He upbraided him for his immorality and impressed upon him the necessity of never mentioning the case, or the principals, to anyone in the district in which they both lived.

The Judge next called the woman and was patient in explaining to her the tragic possibilities of her misbehavior. He told her that her son was waiting outside for particulars. Piteously she begged the Judge to protect her, and it was evident from her whole attitude that she had learned a very great lesson. She was put on probation by the Judge and required to name her family physician, who was requested, the next day, to begin treatment for her disease. The progress of her case was to be checked up every two months by probation officers.

With this solution the Judge brought the mother into his private office where the son waited for news. The Judge explained to the boy that a mistake had been made in the case of his mother, intimating that she had been victimized

by her unprincipled neighbor, but that no permanent harm was done. He emphasized the importance of silence about the whole matter, and urged the son to minimize its importance, explaining carefully that the incident was of such a character that a sinister interpretation could be put upon it which would place the mother in an unfortunate light before her community and her children. The mother and son went away happily.

PRACTICAL BUT DRASTIC JUSTICE

THERE were other cases that day before the court but they were all of the same character and their solutions were all typical of this court's practical ideals. In each case involving a woman of the streets, the man was fined heavily and the woman, if diseased, was sent to the Gynecean Hospital, an institution operated in conjunction with the court, to be retained until cured. There is no legal justification for so long a retention, but here is one of the instances of where this remarkable court interprets the law freely in order to carry out the procedure of their newly conceived ethics. The court has received in this matter the fullest co-operation from the city's lawyers who have, so far, refused to press a suit into a higher court for the release of a woman of the streets, with money or friends to finance the case, who is committed for treatment to the hospital.

It will be observed, in thinking through the cases cited, that the solutions are, by no means, completely corrective. This court necessarily deals with a class of people fairly low in the social scale and an elementary dealing with a particular situation is required which may or may not bring about ultimate happiness. When Christ told the woman taken in adultery to "go and sin no more," it was not a perfect solution. She was simply set out on the right road; she was shown that there is such a thing as human mercy in the world and the faith that Christ expressed and felt that this woman should thereafter lead a decent life should have been a genuine inspiration to her. This is all anyone can ever hope to do in dealing with human problems.

and this seems the real thought that lies behind this Misdemeanants' Court. They deal almost entirely with people who have been battered down by life, by the cruelty of a great city, by the emotional starvation of the lonely soul with no friends. A great deal of their work is with girls who are victims of a terrible tradition of ignorance that hangs over our life. When these people are caught in the meshes of the law, they are frightened because the cruelty of the law's vengeance is well known. Our law courts have been conducted in a thoroughly heartless fashion, with a punitive purpose to make an example of the unfortunate person not clever enough to conceal his wrong-doing.

In Philadelphia the contrast between the old cases of moral misdemeanor brought before the magistrate courts and the work of the Misdemeanants' Court is particularly striking. In politics Philadelphia is proverbially corrupt. A woman of the streets, in the past, brought before a magistrate's court was summarily fined \$10 and costs and sent back to her profession. She was not examined medically and the court never bothered what became of her. Too often she returned to be fined again and turned out to pursue her inevitably short vicious life.

In the old days some of these cases were held over and the woman sent to a House of Correction, where she spent a certain short period of time in confined association with the very worst characters of her profession. If she had friends it was always possible to secure a surreptitious release by the exercise of political influence. The value of a "gentleman friend" in court cases gave rise to the vicious "pimp" or "cadet" system, which is one of the most shameful phases of prostitution. The casual attitude of a court toward the offender and the possibility of releasing the girl by resort to political influence have greatly strengthened the hand of the worst possible figure of the underworld.

The old magistrate court never thought of bringing the man involved in the arrest to its bar. He was inevitably allowed to go free. The Misdemeanants' Court, however, makes a specialty of punishing the man and, if they can

legally get their hands on the "cadet," he is punished to the fullest extent. The underworld is distinctly afraid of the Misdemeanants' Court and it is one of the few judicial institutions that the crook, the dissolute, the pervert and the vicious are afraid of for it has raised havoc with their old settled traditions.

And it is at this point that we come to the most interesting part of our story. It will be realized that the procedure of this Misdemeanants' Court is not the product of any so-called "highbrow" theory. Its methods show a distinct appreciation of the peculiar ethics, traditions and procedure of the underworld. There is little hypocrisy displayed in the decisions rendered by the court. The language used in the trials is very direct, very simple. It is an institution that has little time for the overly-refined worker with theories culled from university lectures.

HOW THE MISDEMEANANTS' COURT AROSE

STRANGELY enough this particular court has been a product of the very system that even now supports corruption. It is a distinct product of an extremely corrupt political system and even today the court is managed by men who play the shrewdest sort of a political game.

The Misdemeanants' Court has had as its inspiration a man whose political evolution is one of the most romantic stories of Quaker City politics. It is the work of Judge Charles L. Brown, who is today the president judge of the Municipal Court. This Municipal Court was formed some six or eight years ago to take care of the many small cases that were cluttering up the judicial machinery. In those old days Philadelphia did not have sufficient facilities to deal rapidly with the many minor crimes that were brought before our magistrate courts and turned over to the higher courts. It was thought that a separate system would allow a more personal, more rapid handling of the cases. Legislation was put through to gather under one head the work of the Juvenile Court, the Domestic Relations Court, this newly conceived Misdemeanants' Court and a Civil Court to try minor cases of thefts and arson. The Juvenile Court

is a story in itself, and none other than Judge Ben Lindsey, of Denver, has declared the Philadelphia Juvenile Court to be the most perfect, most human institution of its kind in America.

It has been Judge Brown's persistent ambition to make the Municipal Court a model institution of its kind. His ideals are very close, indeed, to the ground and in the administration of this judicial system he has played a very practical game of politics. As he became engrossed more and more in his work the finer principles evolved. The success of this court is actually due to the fact that its conception and procedure is distinctly of the earth, earthy. It has grown out of the recognition that there are very few people in life who can throw the first stone at the offender, and this kindly attitude has brought about a real institution with real humanly corrective ideals.

Since they are a human institution they have made, are making, and will continue to make their usual quota of human mistakes, but it is a long step in the direction of an intensely real, personal and truly corrective way of dealing with social crime.

APHRODITE

By J. CORSON MILLER

Her eyes are mellow landscapes of desire,
Her lips are roses, and her heart's the Sun,
Through which gold streams of love and beauty run,
Sounding the chorus of a poet's choir.
Yet her proud smile is but the Moon's cold fire,
Her hands hold all earth's battles, lost and won—
Crusades and spoils sunk in oblivion,
Or burning on Humanity's red pyre.

Her hairs are strands of dreams for which men die,
Beating, like prisoners, against Fate's bars;
She is the world's mirage that flames on high,
The ghostly light that lures the sinking spars—
The thunder-menace in a blackened sky,
The peace that cloaks a cavalcade of stars.

THE THEATRE IN REVIEW

By C. COURTENAY SAVAGE

Melodrama

A MAN who has obtained his keenest enjoyment from the theatre since the days when, as a small boy, he saw his first Bowery melodrama, once remarked that the modern theatre made him think of rice pudding. In the old days he used to order a heaping dish which cost five cents. This gentleman still enjoys rice pudding, but today he has it served on silver, and the expensive hotel chef garnishes it with raisins. It was impossible not to think of his comparison when witnessing Leo Ditrichstein's latest play, "The Purple Mask." It is the old-fashioned Bowery melodrama moved uptown, and trimmed with fine scenery and remarkable acting. Enjoyable? Very. For five acts the spectators sit on the edge of their seats and forget all the fight about Prohibition, and the League of Nations. The scene is Paris in the Napoleonic days of the early eighteen hundreds. Royalists in disguise, a famous cavalier, The Purple Mask, and the escape of the Duke de Chateaubriand from his captors form the plot. To tell it in detail would spoil the story, but it is impossible to imagine anyone not stirred by the baffling exploits of the hero. He goes from one tight situation to another, and the eternal question is—how can he get himself out of this scrape? Mr. Ditrichstein demonstrates again that he is second to none as an actor, and a large company headed by Miss Lily Cahill and Brandon Tynan help the play to what must surely be a huge success.

A. H. Woods, who produced "The Sign on the Door," generally proves that he knows more about how to put the popular punch in a melodrama than any other producer, and there are moments when he surpasses himself in his new production, for there are thrills aplenty. The play opens with a prologue which shows the villain at work luring the

young and honest stenographer to a life of ruin. Of course she is saved, so that they may meet again. They do—in the body of the play. The stenographer has married a cattleman from points West, who has a young, foolish grown-up daughter. The villain, meeting this young lady, invites her to dine and spend the evening in his bachelor apartment. The wife, remembering her own experiences, goes to save the girl. Just exactly what happens ought not to be told, for it would spoil the story. Sufficient to say that there is a murder, two or three sets of hysterics, and a happy ending. The play is remarkably well acted with Lowell Sherman as the most charming villain of recent seasons. It was one instance where the audiences insisted that the dead return to life long enough to take a curtain call. Mary Ryan plays the stenographer-wife and Lee Baker her cattleman husband. If one is looking for modern, ten-twenty-thirty melodrama at \$2.50 a scale, "*The Sign on the Door*" can be highly recommended.

Not greatly different in its general theme, equally well acted, but hardly as gripping in its suspense is "*For The Defense*," in which Richard Bennett has the leading role. This new play, by Elmer L. Rice, author of "*On Trial*," has its murder mystery, with the first act laid in the office of an Oriental healer, moving rapidly; but there are moments in the rest of the play where the story drags. Mr. Bennet gives his usual splendid performance and a young woman named Winifred Lenihan attracts attention by her work.

It was an ingenuous idea that prompted the author of "*The Light of the World*" to use the Passion Play as the theme of a drama for American consumption. The only question is, will the American public care to see semi-Biblical spectacles of this type? Perhaps not in the big cities, but the drama should make a lot of money on the road. The story, one of not over intense interest, tells of the life of the villagers who portray the Passion Play, and their actions closely comply with the Biblical stories of Christ. One finds a modern counterpart of the woman taken in adultery, the Christ himself, the Magi and the

shepherds. The production is magnificently staged as far as detail is concerned, and Clara Joel and Pedro de Cordova stand out prominently in the large cast.

Comedies

BLANCHE Bates, who has not had a chance to show her ability for comedy for several seasons, is co-starred with Henry Miller in "The Famous Mrs. Fair," James Forbes' latest comedy. Miss Bates' role is that of a married woman, mother of two children, who arrives home after four years of war work to find her son secretly engaged to a stenographer, her daughter budding into womanhood and needing a mother's care, and her husband on the brink of an affair with a charming widow. She is the type of woman who, after years of active work, does not take kindly to the thought of settling down. She has an offer to go for a lecture tour, and is on the verge of accepting it, in fact has made up her mind to do so, when she is brought to realize how much her family needs her. It is a great play for Miss Bates and she never loses an opportunity. The humor is smart and rapid. Mr. Miller plays the husband of the famous *Mrs. Fair* and a young woman named Margolio Gilmore is flawless in her role as the daughter. As a reflection of the psychology of a woman's place in her home during their period of reconstruction, this play would alone be interesting, but it is more than that, it is comedy of the highest type.

Miss Jane Cowl has chosen a peculiar but interesting comedy "Smilin' Through" for her season's vehicle. In the story, told in motion-picture fashion by way of cut-backs, the spectator watches a love story of fifty years ago paralleled with the more modern action. There is only one fault to be found with the play, the common fault with all such "flash-back" productions, and that is that the mechanism holds an equal interest with the story. Miss Cowl is charming whether she is in hoop-skirts or modern raiment, and her cast is excellent. The theme of the play, that love conquers all human hatred, is a popular one, and the pro-

duction will prove a pleasant evening to all admirers of Miss Cowl's work.

"Carnival," which lasted for a very short season, is hardly entitled to review, but it did introduce to the American theatre an excellent actor, American by birth, English by training, Godfrey Tearle. Mr. Tearle's next appearance will be noted with more than ordinary interest.

The latest bedroom farce has been christened "No More Blondes." It has a stereotyped plot which was adapted from the story by Edgar Franklin, and, if it were not for the excellent acting, the piece would be commonplace. Ernest Truax, always at home when playing farce, was his usual humorous self. A young lady named Eileen Wilson looked very charming in her night clothes, while Eliza Gergely as a French maid lifted her part from mediocrity by speaking French and acting as though she were a real French maid.

Musical

"**A**LWAYS You" is one of the most pleasing of the season's crop of musical comedies based on the war. The prologue takes place in France during August, 1918. The tenor is taking leave of the girl who has nursed him back to health and he promises her he will come back. He does, but brings with him his American fiancée. The natural complications arise, and, of course, everyone marries the right person at the fall of the final curtain. There is really pretty music in the production, which is well staged, well acted, and sung by a cast including the humorous Ralph Herz, Walter Scanlon, who has a fine tenor voice, and a tiny prima donna named Helen Ford. Of added interest is the fact that the author of the book and lyric is Arthur Hammerstein, 2nd, grandson of the late Oscar, who was America's most interesting operatic impresario. The young man's future work can be watched with interest.

After several months of wandering, and meeting with success in such cities as Chicago, Boston and Philadelphia, the much-heralded musical play "Angel Face" arrived in New York. It proves to be a polite, and at all times enter-

taining musical comedy, having a plot that is not at all important, a cast of competent players, and a tuneful score. It might be possible to write half a page about production, and not say more than that it is one of the greatest successes and deservedly so.

Beautiful girls, sumptuous settings, clever vaudeville players—plus vulgarity—make up the *raison d'être* for "The Frivolities of 1920." It is not as clever as many of the reviews that have come into New York in the past few years—it lacks the woman principle of magnetism, and is also in need of a clever comedian. Henry Lewis, who is handling the comedy, is often so very vulgar that it is doubtful if there will be enough people in the city who will care to listen to his jokes to make the production a lasting success. If the whole production had been on a par with the dancing, the scenery, costumes, and the girls—the verdict would have been different.

THE TRUE BROTHERHOOD

By WINIFRED BALLARD BLAKE

Let's put our shoulders to the wheel if worth the name of
men,

Whether we work with brawn or brain, with pick-axe or
with pen.

Produce! and serve the world for joy of swift and splendid
work,

Straight honor can demand what can't be got by grudge
and shirk!

Yet till we all, whate'er our lot, can once forever see
That money's not the *only* thing, we never can be free!
The mills of God grind slowly but will grind exceeding
small

Unless the Brotherhood of Man inspire us, one and all.

A SHELF OF NEW BOOKS

IT WOULD be extremely difficult to find a living American whose life history is more colorful than that of Henry Watterson, who is called by his publishers "the last of the great individual journalists." His memory goes back through eight decades of American history, and his brilliant mind, often used antagonistically, brought him into close touch with national and international leaders, and kept him accurately posted on every subject vital to the United States. Now he has written these memories into a book and it takes two volumes to tell his story. "Marse Henry" (George H. Doran Company) is really a social and political history of our country. Mr. Watterson writes entertainingly, often racily, most of his narrative having a strain of underlying humor that makes one think he chuckled as he composed the book. He knew Lincoln, was present at his inauguration. He has a story to tell of Mark Twain—a gripping recollection of such men as Roosevelt, Grant, and Cleveland, while John Hay, Joseph Jefferson and a hundred other men were among his close friends. His is an intimate knowledge, not gained by a few minutes' impression, but by years of actual friendship with great men. His memoirs are sure to find a permanent place on American bookshelves.

There is but one fault to find with "Outland," Mary Austin's newest novel (Boni & Liveright). Picking up the volume, at the end of a tired day, it is apt to stir the spirit of revolt against the monotony of business and social life, for from its pages the whispering woods call, and one longs to find the trail from the broken tree with the hawk's nest. This story of the Southwest is a fantastic adventure among a clan who live in the woods, guarding their treasure, and carrying on warfare with their enemies, the Far Folk and the House Folk. It is told by one of the House Folk who wanders along the trail, and for a period of several months becomes one of these strange people. Many a writer might

have made the story cheaply sensational, frankly unreal, but Mary Austin's gift of words has not forsaken her—add to this gift her intimate knowledge of the Southwest, and the result is an altogether charming volume.

David Anderson wrote "The Blue Moon" (Bobbs Merrill Co.) for those who are not ashamed to admit that they still believe in romance, and that they like stories which are big brothers of those that thrilled them in their nursery days. "The Blue Moon" is as exciting as "Jack and the Bean Stalk" used to be, and better than "Puss in Boots." Not that it carries one to the land of imagination, for the scenes of "The Blue Moon" are laid on a Middle Western River, and the murder and sudden death, pearl hunting—the Blue Moon is a pearl—go hand in hand with mystery and young love. Exciting? Yes, very exciting, easily read, highly entertaining, clean, this story by a practically unknown author can be highly recommended as a companion when one does not wish to think deeply.

George Allan England, who translated "Their Son" and "The Necklace" from the Spanish of Eduardo Zamacois (Boni & Liveright) has written a preface in which he sketches briefly the life and ambitions of the author. Zamacois, Mr. England believes, is a Spanish Guy de Maupassant. Certainly the two stories that make up the small volume have many of the characteristics of the more famous Frenchman, and especially in "Their Son" does the reader find the same subtle manner of disclosing a characteristic, of unfolding an incident, that marks de Maupassant's work. Both of the stories deal with the lure of sex, and both are tragedy. Yet they are unnecessarily morbid. Mr. England has made capable translations, for which he apologizes, saying that Zamacois' work is extremely difficult to transfer. With the work of Spanish writers commanding more and more attention this volume is of much interest to the student of current literature.

While Irving Fisher's "Stabilizing the Dollar" (The Macmillan Company) could hardly be classed as popular reading, it would be difficult to find a more popular subject

than the High Cost of Living, and the shrinking value of the American dollar. Professor Fisher, who, as well as being an ex-president of the American Economic Association, has the chair of Political Economy at Yale, argues out that the stabilizing of the dollar need cause no more trouble than daylight saving, or any other movement of like importance. It is all a question of price level, and his theories, clear and not at all technical, show how he would bring about such a seemingly revolutionary undertaking. The book is really an enlargement on Professor Fisher's many articles on the subject, one of which appeared fairly recently in the pages of *THE FORUM*.

The closing days of the war are responsible for Bruce Bairnsfather's "From Mud to Mufti" (G. P. Putnam's Sons). The narrative, profusely illustrated with original drawings, sketches the adventures of the creator of Old Bill on the French and Italian fronts, and with the Americans—also a duty visit to the United States during the closing days of the conflict. It is pleasing to meet the foremost cartoonist of the war at close hand, and timely interest is found in the fact that Mr. Bairnsfather is at present in the United States lecturing, and drawing his highly humorous and original cartoons to make us understand just how much humor could be born of battle.

Edgar Lee Masters has called his latest collection of verses "Starved Rock" (The Macmillan Co.) It has not quite the marked originality of his famous Spoon River verses, but he sings with a lyrical grace not frequently found in his work, and a touch of humor creeps in that is not the satiric laughter of Spoon River. Of course, his more familiar mood is present—as, for instance, in "They'd Never Know Me Now;" but much more charming—that is for those who are not overly inclined to be morbid—are his verses to Robert Nichols, the English poet, or his narrative verse "At Sagamore Hill." The volume will serve for deep study, and will take its equal place with Mr. Masters' other collections of verses.

The Editor's Un-Easy Chair

(Contributions to this department must be addressed to the Editor and should not exceed 1,000 words. Manuscripts should contain addressed envelope stamped.)

The American Flag Still Flies

THE UN-EASY Chair groans for a lubricating oil of American make. It is kept twisting around in so many directions, to see all that happens, that its mechanism is clogged. The substance of alien theories chokes the American mind, while the ill winds of Europe raise a cloud of dust that fills our eyes.

In the name of the Constitution, who is there in this country who cares what a man's vote is, so long as it is honestly cast, politics aside? Who cares whether the voter is a socialist, a populist, an independent, an anarchist or a bolshevist, so long as he obeys the regulations of American citizenship, and expresses himself in the ballot box? Surely there is no possible chance that the 110,000,000 American people who have not lost the inherited traditions of liberty and freedom, will swing in mass formation to support any other government but their own?

If the American flag is to be hauled down, and replaced by some foreign emblem resembling the Soviet rag of Russia, or the all-red rag of communism, it will not be done by Americans. Hence, why all these columns in the newspapers devoted to what communists think, when there is on issue before us as to what form of government we prefer?

What a communist wants to happen in America has no more influence in the United States than the "Red" flag would have if it were displayed from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Without belittling the oratory of Martin Littleton who coined a ringing phrase when he accused the five socialists, who were investigated by a legislative committee in Albany to ascertain their loyalty to our national unity, with representing the "Invisible Empire," it was still dignifying their claims too much. Rebellion of thought is not forbidden in the United States, it is only subject to

discipline when it adopts the language and a spirit that reflects upon the American government, whose symbol is the Stars and Stripes.

Let us hope that we agree to support the American Flag, no matter how intellectual our tendencies may be to appreciate the platitudes left behind by those Don Quixotes of the grave, a shaggy procession of neurasthenic ghosts with Karl Marx at their head. Having agreed on that, what is there to shake our hoary locks at, what have we to fear from the melodramatic manifestos of communistic societies, of the unlimited propaganda that the Soviet scum are spreading? Let them spend all the money they can steal and seize in Russia, by their system of piracy and loot, in this country. Let them make faces at us if they wish to, let them roar in the name of justice, or whine at injustice, these exhibitions of nervous disorder should be treated gently, for they are only abnormal symptoms.

But—there are institutions established by the American people to take care of the afflicted, and there are institutions to take care of the criminals, and there are institutions to take care of traitors. The hospitals, the prisons, and the courts still function according to constitutional codes. Over these institutions flies the American flag, and they are the proper places for any of us who run amuck, for any of us who run out of balance, or out of honor, or out of loyalty. The government of the United States has every authority necessary to meet any radical situation that defies it, and the American people have a flag of their own that they are well satisfied with.

We need no new legislation to restore the flag, what we need is the same patriotic impulse that stirred the nation to defeat the autocratic German empire under that flag. Then there'll be nothing of the "Invisible Empire" in America

New Job for the Writing-Man?

WHAT is to become of the ancient profession of writing? Not that it matters very much, because the gayety of nations has long ceased to need the writer who can write.

So long as a name printed on a pamphlet or a book is the name of a man who ought to write something, the publishers are satisfied. Everyone is satisfied but the writing-man himself, the unknown amanuensis of others who receive fortunes for what they do not, in many instances could not, write in readable shape. To go over the ground that other men have cultivated and sprinkle it with words, words, words; that, today, is the writing-man's job. More especially has this been obvious since the war. Some of us expecting a great literary blaze from the cumulative expressions of war-correspondents, were forced to the conclusion that little light would come from them after all. They have been pushed off the new map of the world by the men who have, all along, told them nothing, men who had shrewdly held in reserve the true story of the war. They also knew that the writing-man could be hired by them to do the work well when they were ready for it. In this way many writers of potential fame sold themselves into bondage to the great slave-driver of modern scribbling—propaganda.

It is no use deploring the decline of the writing-man, because his identity has been swallowed up in reportorial tasks. The most vital question is, whether the writing-man is to be eliminated from the individuality of his work? It appears that he is, because no one cares to read anything he has to say, unless somebody else says it to him first. In the language of our very best sanctums, the only question is: "Who gave you the dope?"

From Germany especially comes the best confirmation of this uneasy prediction. Hindenburg sold the American rights of his book for a sum which, at the present rate of exchange, makes him a millionaire in marks twice over. He got about four million marks for it. Ludendorff held out for forty thousand pounds sterling, and got a trifle less for the English and Colonial rights alone to his books. Von Tirpitz has come out winner of little short of a million marks on his writings, and Helfferich, Bethmann-Holweg, Falkenburg, have all collected handsomely. Count Von Bernstorff with the suave assurance of a diplomat is waiting

to fire the first book-gun, reserving the advantage of giving his literary competitors the *coup de grace*.

The war-correspondents have disappeared from the face of the earth, many of them, no doubt, writing the books just named underground. In years to come the writing-man may be yoked to the great treadmill of verbose mush which will represent the deeds of men who dare and do.

Americanizing the British Mind

THERE is a tidal-wave of human interest in leisure. Occasionally it sweeps the English-speaking peoples of the earth, and drenches them. In the order of natural phenomena, it is inexplicable, but when it happens everyone knows it. In the pleasant days when Queen Victoria was young and America was a land of adventure for the younger sons of British nobility, Americans were keenly interested in English life. They had not entirely recovered from the habit of colonial allegiance, the paternalism of England was still fulminating in their blood ties of relationship to the home base. These were the days when Dickens, Thackeray, and other mid-Victorian writers, painters and poets, dominated the leisure, thought and imagination of Americans.

It has been a long time since that tidal-wave deluged American imagination. The latest phenomenon, reversing the order, is the tidal-wave of the moving-picture craze, which has inundated the British masses with a mania described, in America, as "pep." Sir Sidney Low, writing in the *Fortnightly Review* of London, says that "The greatest American spiritual conquest of all is that of the cinema."

Whether he includes Douglas Fairbanks, Charlie Chaplin, and a long list of sugary ingenues among the spiritual apostles of the cinema Americanization of England is not stated. A high tribute is paid to the American film producers in a plea which the writer makes for a hope that the British motion-picture man may do as well as the American producers. However, with a smiling protest the writer deplores the jazzing of England westward, and hopes that the jazz will be replaced by an "uplift."

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